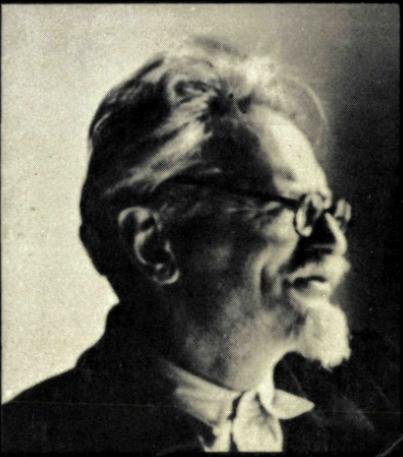


**WRITINGS OF  
LEON  
TROTSKY  
[1939-40]**





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[1939-40]**

**PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.  
NEW YORK**

This volume is dedicated to the  
memory of JOHN G. WRIGHT (1902-1956)

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## PREFACE

After his expulsion from the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky lived in Turkey (1929-33), France (1933-35), Norway (1935-36), and finally Mexico (1937-40). This volume contains writings from the last thirteen months of his life, from July 1939 to his assassination in August 1940 at the hands of a Stalinist agent.

Overshadowing everything else was the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. Preceding that were the last-minute diplomatic maneuvers that resulted in the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in August. This pact, which freed Hitler's hands for the invasion of Poland, produced consternation among the Allied politicians, although it had long been predicted by Trotsky. No commentator of the period was able to match the cogency and precision of his analysis of the first stages of the war, when Stalin, with Hitler's approval, seized portions of Eastern Poland and then got bogged down in an embarrassing conflict with Finland. Trotsky also predicted that the United States would discard its "neutrality," enter the war on the side of the Allies, and become the biggest military power in human history.

Trotsky's public writings on the war, through the German breakthrough in the spring of 1940 and the downfall of France, were designed primarily to help the Fourth International orient itself correctly in the difficult early stages of the war and to arm itself politically so that it could intervene most effectively when opportunity arose; these are all printed in the present volume. In addition, Trotsky wrote voluminously on the war and war-related problems for the internal bulletins of the Fourth International, which was shaken, after the Stalin-Hitler pact, by a crisis over fundamental principles that was so severe that it put the future existence of the International itself into question; most of these internal writings have been collected in the book *In Defense of Marxism*, but there are several in the present volume too.

Another major event in Trotsky's last year was the unsuc-

cessful attempt to assassinate him and his family on May 24, 1940. The investigation of this case compelled him to put aside work on his biography of Stalin and to uncover the role of the Stalinists in the attempt; the present volume contains all of his articles on this subject published in any language, including his long study, "The Comintern and the GPU," which he completed three days before his assassination.

The second edition of this volume differs from the first in the following ways:

1. The first edition included only those articles which had been published in English and were not available in books and pamphlets permanently in print; the second includes, in addition, translations of all the other articles from this period that were published in any language, along with translations of six that had not been published in any language. The six "new" items are "Our International Organization" (July 26, 1939); "The War and the Ukrainian Question" (September 6, 1939); "On the Question of Workers' Self-Defense" (October 25, 1939); "Avuncular Advice" (July 1, 1940); "Questions Regarding Mrs. Carmen Palma's Statement" (July 1940); and "Dialectics and the Immutability of the Syllogism" (undated). Eight articles here translated into English for the first time—all from *Los Gangsters de Stalin*—are "More Slander Around the Dies Committee" (January 12, 1940); "A Proposal to Professional Slanderers" (May 14, 1940); "Accusers or Accused?" (May 28, 1940); "Representative Toledano Hurls a New Slander" (June 2, 1940);

3, 1940); "Supplementary Deposition on the July 2 Hearing" (July 3, 1940); "Supplementary and Indispensable Explanations of My July 2 Statement" (July 5, 1940); and "Appeal to the Press" (July 27, 1940). In addition, the present edition includes one article previously translated and published but not obtained for the first edition: "Testament" (February 27 and March 3, 1940).

2. The first edition was divided into five sections by theme, within each of which the articles were run in chronological order; the second presents all the articles in strictly chronological order.

3. The first edition covered the last twelve months of Trotsky's life, with three exceptions for the reader's convenience; the second begins one month earlier. Added to this edition, therefore, are "On the Eve of World War II" (July 23, 1939); "India Faced with Imperialist War" (July 25, 1939); "'Progressive Paralysis'" (July 29, 1939); and "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution" (August 1939), which appeared in the

first edition of *Writings 38-39* and are omitted from its second edition. Omitted from this edition is "The Ukrainian Question," which will be found in the second edition of *Writings 38-39*. Also omitted from this edition are "The Right of Revolutionary Optimism," which was actually a small part of an essay, "Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the USSR" (October 18, 1939), which will be found in its entirety in *In Defense of Marxism*; "On the Jewish Question" (July 1940), a fragment which will be found in the collection entitled *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question*; and "On a Petty-Bourgeois Philistine" (August 9, 1940), which will be found under the title "A Letter to Albert Goldman" in *In Defense of Marxism*.

4. Further research since the publication of the first edition revealed that five of its articles were incomplete, in some cases substantially incomplete. The missing parts have been restored to the following articles, now published in their full text in English for the first time: "Stalin—Temporary Holder of the Ukraine" (September 18, 1939); "The U.S. Will Participate in the War" (October 1, 1939); "The Twin-Stars: Hitler-Stalin" (December 4, 1939); "Stalin After the Finnish Experience" (March 13, 1940); and "Letter to the Mexican Attorney-General" (May 27, 1940).

Several of the articles were signed by pen names or were unsigned when first published. The date preceding each selection indicates when it was completed. Translations originally made in the 1930s and 40s have been revised to correct obvious errors and achieve uniformity in spelling of names, punctuation, etc. Acknowledgments about the articles and translations, and explanatory material about the persons and events mentioned in them, will be found in the section entitled "Notes and Acknowledgments." "Other Writings of 1939-40" lists the books, pamphlets, and articles from that period which are not included in this volume because they are in print and available elsewhere.

Many of the improvements in this second edition were made possible by a check of Louis Sinclair's monumental study, *Leon Trotsky: A Bibliography* (Hoover Institution Press, 1972), and by the courtesies of the Harvard College Library, whose permission to examine and use material in the "open" section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard is reported in "Notes and Acknowledgments."

The Editors  
January 1973

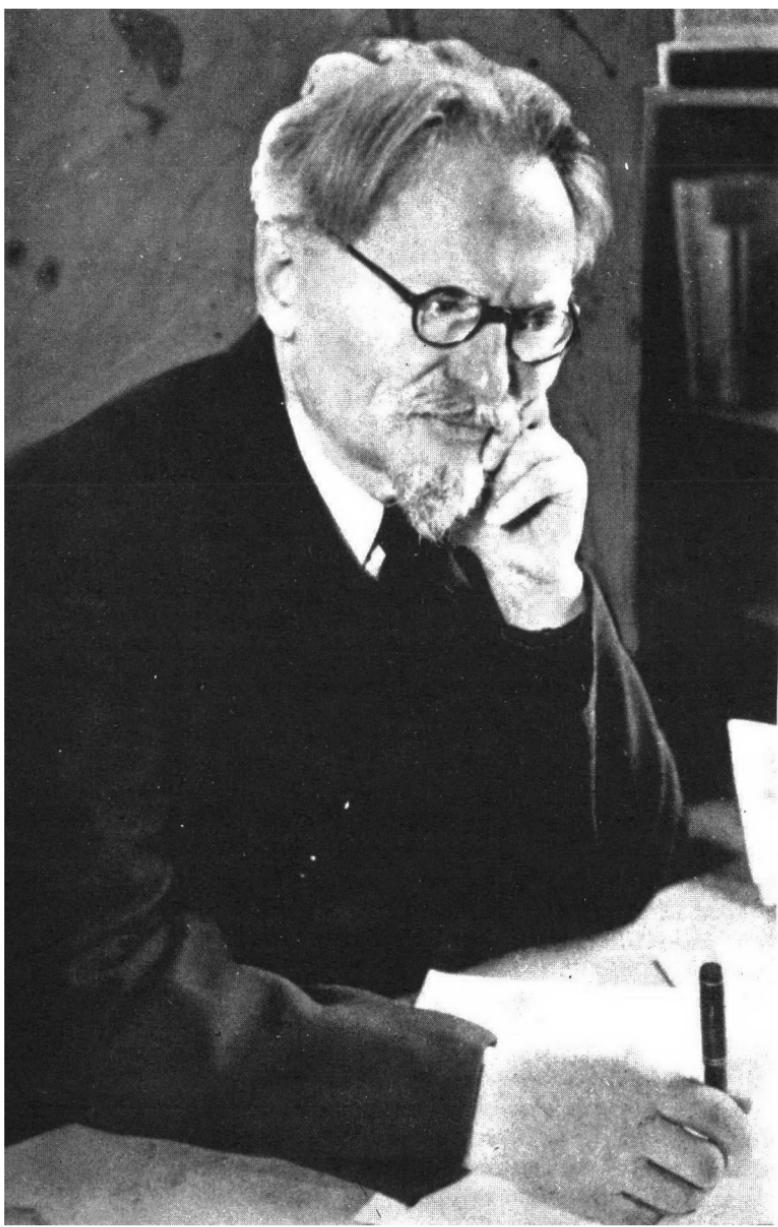
## CHRONOLOGY

— 1939 —

- July 23 — Trotsky gives an interview to a committee of U. S. scholars.
- August 22 — Germany and the Soviet Union sign a mutual nonaggression pact.
- End of August — The Third and Fourth Internationals are both beset by acute internal crises. Many thousands quit Communist parties throughout the world out of revulsion against Stalin's pact with Hitler. The Socialist Workers Party is swept by a bitter factional struggle as a minority headed by Shachtman and Burnham undertakes to revise fundamental policies of the Fourth International.
- September 1 — World War II begins as Germany invades Poland from the west.
- September 3 — Britain and France declare war against Germany.
- September 17 — Soviet troops invade Poland from the east.
- September 28 — Germany agrees to recognize Soviet-controlled eastern Poland as its "new boundary."
- October 12 — The Dies Committee invites Trotsky to testify in the United States.
- November 3 — The Soviet government holds a plebiscite in the area of Poland it has seized, announces a favorable outcome, and incorporates the area into the USSR.
- November — The U. S. Congress lifts its arms embargo to Europe, replacing it by cash-and-carry provisions that enable the Allies to buy U. S. war goods.
- November 30 — Soviet troops invade Finland.
- December 12 — The Dies Committee backs down, retracting its invitation to Trotsky.
- December 14 — The League of Nations, in its last important action, expels the Soviet Union for invading Finland.
- December 15 — Trotsky defines the basic issues of the SWP factional struggle in a polemic entitled "A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party."

## — 1940 —

- February 27 and March 3 — Trotsky writes his testament.
- March 12 — Finnish representatives in Moscow sign an agreement on terms ending the war with the USSR.
- March 18 — The Mexican Communist Party holds a convention at which its leadership is purged for not being sufficiently "anti-Trotskyist."
- April 9 — Germany invades Norway and Denmark.
- April 5-9 — A national convention of the Socialist Workers Party rejects the revisionist proposals of the Shachtman-Burnham minority, after which it splits away from the SWP and the Fourth International.
- May 10 — Churchill succeeds Chamberlain as prime minister of Britain. Germany invades the Low Countries and France.
- May 24 — An unsuccessful attempt is made on Trotsky's life; his guard, Robert Sheldon Harte, is kidnaped by the assailants.
- End of May — Trotsky completes the draft of the Manifesto on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution, which is adopted by an emergency conference of the Fourth International.
- June 1-2 — The German attack on the Allied evacuation at Dunkirk leaves 70,000 British troops dead.
- June 10 — Italy enters the war on Germany's side.
- June 12-15 — Trotsky holds discussions with leaders of the SWP.
- June 16-22 — Petain succeeds Reynaud as premier of France and capitulates to Germany.
- June 17 — Mexican police arrest several Stalinists in connection with the May 24 assassination attempt, including David Serrano.
- June 25 — The body of Robert Sheldon Harte is discovered.
- End of June — The Soviet Union annexes part of Rumania.
- July 2 — Trotsky testifies at the investigation of the May 24 attempt.
- July 10 — The German air bombardment of Britain begins.
- July 14 — The Soviet Union annexes Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
- August 2 — David Serrano confesses to participating in the attempt and testifies implicating David Alfaro Siqueiros.
- August 20 — Trotsky is mortally wounded by a Stalinist assassin.
- August 21 — Trotsky dies.



Trotsky in his study.

## ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II<sup>1</sup>

July 23, 1939

I welcome you, ladies and gentlemen, to our house, and I thank you very much for your visit, and I will try to answer your questions as well as I can. My English is as bad this year as it was a year ago. I promised Mr. Herring two years ago to improve my English on the condition that the people in Washington give me a visa for the United States, but it seems that they are not interested in my English.

Permit me to answer your questions sitting. There are eleven or twelve very important questions. They cover almost the whole world situation. It is not easy to answer them clearly, because they concern the activities of all the governments, and I don't believe that the governments themselves see very clearly what they want, especially at this time, when we have a situation of a world impasse. The capitalistic system is in a state of impasse. From my side, I do not see any normal, legal, peaceful outcome from this impasse. The outcome can only be created by a tremendous historic explosion. Historic explosions are of two kinds—wars and revolutions. I believe we will have both. The programs of the present governments, the good ones as well as the bad ones—if we suppose that there are good governments also—the programs of different parties, pacifist programs and reformist programs, seem now, at least to a man who observes them from the side, as child's play on the sloping side of a volcano before an eruption. This is the general picture of the world today.

You created a World's Fair.<sup>2</sup> I can judge it only from the outside for the same reason for which my English is so bad, but from what I have learned about the Fair from the papers, it is a tremendous human creation from the point of view of the "World of Tomorrow." I believe this characterization is a bit one-sided. Only from a technical point of view can your World's Fair be named "World of Tomorrow," because if you wish to consider the real world of tomorrow we should see a hundred military airplanes over the World's Fair, with bombs, some hundreds of bombs, and the result of this activity would

be the world of tomorrow. This grandiose human creative power from one side, and this terrible backwardness in the field which is the most important for us, the social field—technical genius, and, permit me the word, social idiocy—this is the world of today.

*Question: How do you estimate the real military strength of Soviet Russia today?*

*Answer:* The military strength of Soviet Russia, better to say the military status of Soviet Russia, is contradictory. On one side we have a population of 170,000,000 awakened by the greatest revolution in history, with fresh energy, with great dynamics, with a more or less developed war industry. On the other side we have a political regime paralyzing all of the forces of the new society. What would be the balance of these contradictory forces I cannot foretell. I believe nobody can foretell, because there are moral factors which can be measured only by the events themselves. One thing I am sure: the political regime will not survive the war. The social regime, which is the nationalized property of production, is incomparably more powerful than the political regime, which has a despotic character. The new forms of property are of tremendous importance from the point of view of historic progress. The inner life of the Soviet Union, as the inner life of the army of the Soviet Union, is characterized by the contradictions between the political regime and the necessity for the development of the new society, economic, cultural, etc. Every social contradiction takes its sharpest form in the army, because the army is the armed power of society. The representatives of the political regime, or the bureaucracy, are afraid of the prospect of a war, because they know better than we that they will not survive a war as a regime.

*Q: What was the real reason for the execution of Tukhachevsky and the generals?*<sup>3</sup>

*A:* This question is connected with the first. The new society has its methods of social crystallization, or selection of different human beings for different functions. They have a new selection for the economics, a selection for the army and navy, a selection also for the power [administration], and these selections are very different. The bureaucracy became during the last ten years a tremendous brake on the Soviet society. It is a parasitic caste which is interested in their power, in their

privileges, and in their incomes, and they subordinate all other questions today to their material interests as a caste. On the other hand, the creative functions of the society, economic, cultural, the army and navy—which is also in a certain sense a creative function—have their own selection of individuals, of inventors, of administrators, etc., and we see in every branch, in every section of social life, that one selection is directed against the other.

The army needs capable, honest men, just as the economists and scientists, independent men with open minds. Every man and woman with an independent mind comes into conflict with the bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy must decapitate the one section at the expense of the other in order to preserve themselves. This is the obvious historical explanation of the dramatic Moscow trials,<sup>4</sup> the famous frame-ups, etc. The American press is more interested for its side of the happenings [i.e., is more interested in certain aspects it can turn to account], but we can give them a more objective, scientific, social explanation. It was a clash between two kinds of selections in different strata of society. A man who is a good general, like Tukhachevsky, needs independent aides, other generals around him, and he appreciates every man according to his intrinsic value. The bureaucracy needs docile people, byzantine people, slaves, and these two types come into conflict in every state. In view of the fact that the bureaucracy holds all of the power, it is the heads of the army that fall, and not the heads of the bureaucracy.

*Q: How do you explain the dropping of Litvinov as minister of foreign affairs?<sup>5</sup>*

*A:* On general lines it is explained by the considerations I developed some minutes ago. Personally Litvinov was a capable man—is a capable man. He is not an independent political figure; he never was. But he is intelligent; he knows several different languages; he has visited several different countries; he knows Europe very well. Because of his travels, his knowledge of different countries, he troubles and embarrasses the Politbureau, which is the creation of Stalin.<sup>6</sup> In the bureaucracy nobody knows foreign languages, nobody has lived in Europe, and nobody knows foreign politics. When Litvinov presented his views to the Politbureau they felt a bit annoyed. This is one individual reason more for his being dropped, but I believe it was also a hint from the Kremlin to Hitler that we are ready to change our politics,<sup>7</sup> to realize

our objective, our aim, that we presented to you and Hitler some years ago, because the objective of Stalin in international politics is a settlement with Hitler.

We had a very interesting article by Krivitsky in the *Saturday Evening Post*.<sup>8</sup> He observed these proceedings from a special point of view—his own. He was in the military espionage service, and he had very delicate missions from Moscow. What he says is very interesting as a confirmation of a general point of view which we expressed many times before this revelation. The Moscow bureaucracy do not wish war. They are afraid of a war because they will not survive. They wish peace at any price. The country which is now threatening the Soviet Union is Germany, and her allies, Italy and Japan. An agreement with Hitler signifies no war. An alliance with Chamberlain signifies military help during the war,<sup>9</sup> but no more, because the hopes that an alliance between England, France, and the Soviet Union would avoid a war are childish. You remember that Europe was divided in two camps before the Great War, and those two camps produced the war. Then Woodrow Wilson proposed the League of Nations, with the argument that only collective security can avoid wars.<sup>10</sup> Now after the collapse of the League of Nations they begin to say that the division of Europe in two camps, by the creation of an alliance between England, France, and Russia, will avoid a war. It is childish. It can signify only mutual help during the war. It is a repetition of the whole experience of twenty-five years ago on a new historic scale. It is better to have an alliance if war is inevitable, but the Kremlin wishes to avoid the war. It can be reached only by an agreement with Hitler. The whole policy of the Kremlin is directed to an agreement with Hitler. Stalin says that if you don't wish to come to an agreement with me, then I will be forced to conclude an agreement with England.

*Q: What vitality has the stop-Hitler bloc? What course will Soviet Russia take in making an alliance with Britain and France? Do you consider it likely that Stalin may come to an understanding with Hitler?*

*A:* It depends not only on Stalin, but on Hitler. Stalin has proclaimed that he is ready to conclude an agreement with Hitler. Hitler up to now rejected his proposition. Possibly he will accept it. Hitler wishes to create for Germany a world-dominating position. The rationalizing formulas are only a mask, as for the French, British, and American empires democracy

is only a mask. The real interest for Britain is India; for Germany, to seize India; for France, it is to not lose the colonies; for Italy, to seize new colonies. The colonies do not have democracy. If Great Britain, for example, fights for democracy, it would do well to start by giving India democracy. The very democratic English people do not give them democracy because they can exploit India only by dictatorial means. Germany wishes to crush France and Great Britain. Moscow is absolutely ready to give Hitler a free hand, because they know very well that if he is engaged in this destruction Russia will be free for years from attacks from Germany. I am sure they would furnish raw materials to Germany during the war under the condition that Russia stand aside. Stalin does not wish a military alliance with Hitler, but an agreement to remain neutral in the war. But Hitler is afraid the Soviet Union can become powerful enough to conquer, in one way or another, Rumania, Poland, and the Balkan states, during the time Germany would be engaged in a world war, and so approach directly the German frontier. That is why Hitler wished to have a preventive war with the Soviet Union, to crush the Soviet Union, and after that begin his war for world domination. Between these two possibilities, two variants, the Germans vacillate. What will be the final decision, I cannot foretell. I am not sure if Hitler himself knows today. Stalin does not know, because he hesitates and continues the discussions with Britain, and at the same time concludes economic and commercial agreements with Germany. He has, as the Germans say, two irons in the fire.

*Q: How do you interpret the underlying purposes of the Chamberlain government?*

*A:* I believe the underlying factors are panic and headlessness. It is not an individual characteristic of Mr. Chamberlain. I do not believe he has any worse head than any other person, but the situation of Great Britain is very difficult, the same as that of France. England was a leading world power in the past—in the nineteenth century—but no more. But she has the greatest world empire. France, with her stagnating population and more or less backward economic structure, has a second colonial empire. This is the situation. It is very difficult to be inventive as a British prime minister in this situation. Only the old formula of "wait and see." This was good when Great Britain was the strongest power in the world and they had enough power to reach their aims. No more

now. The war can only crush and disrupt the British empire and the French empire. They can gain nothing by the war—only lose. That is why Mr. Chamberlain was so friendly to Hitler during the Munich period.<sup>11</sup> He believed that the question was about Central Europe and the Danube, but now he understands that it is the question of world domination. Great Britain and France cannot avoid a war, and now they do everything they can in a feverish tempo to avoid the war threatened by the situation created by the rearmament of Germany. That war is inevitable.

*Q: How do you analyze the movements in France? Is French nationalism strong enough to offset the unity of capitalistic interests between France and Germany?*

*A:* I believe that every capitalistic government at the beginning of the war will have the tremendous majority of the people behind it. But I believe also that not one of the existing governments will have its own people behind it at the end of the war. This is why they are all afraid of the war which they cannot escape.

*Q: Do you still believe that a socialist revolution in a single country is impossible without world participation?*

*A:* I believe there is some misunderstanding in the formulation of this question. I never affirmed that a socialist revolution is impossible in a single country. We had a socialist revolution in the Soviet Union. I participated in it. The socialist revolution signifies the seizure of power by a revolutionary class, by the proletariat. Of course it cannot be accomplished simultaneously in all countries. Some historic time is given for every country by its conditions. A socialist revolution is not only possible but inevitable in every country. What I affirm is that it is impossible to construct a socialistic society in the environment of a capitalistic world. It is a different question, absolutely different.<sup>12</sup>

*Q: Does not the great economic progress made by the Soviet Union in the last five years demonstrate the practicability of building a socialist state in a capitalist world?*

*A:* I would prefer to read it "of building a socialist society," not a socialist state, because the conquest of power by the

proletariat signifies the creation of the socialist state. The socialist state is only instrumental for the creation of the socialist society, because the socialist society signifies the abolition of the state as a very barbaric instrument. Every state is a barbaric survival. The question asks whether economic progress during the last five years does not prove the possibility of building a socialist society in a capitalist world.

Not in my mind, I do not believe, because economic progress is not identical with socialism. America, [the] United States, had in its history more grandiose economic progress on a capitalistic basis. Socialism signifies the progressive equality and the progressive abolition of the state. The state is an instrument of submission. Equality involves abolition of the state. During the five years, parallel with indisputable economic pregress, we had in the Soviet Union a terrible growth of inequality, and a terrible reinforcement of the state. What do the Moscow trials signify from the point of view of equality and abolition of the state? I doubt if there exists now any man who believes there was justice in these trials. We had in Moscow a purge, during the last few years, of a hundred thousand people, the extermination of the Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party,<sup>13</sup> generals, the best officers, the best diplomats, etc. The state is not abolished. The state exists, and what is the state? It is the subjugation of the populace to the state machine, to the new power, the new caste, the new leader—the bureaucracy is a new privileged caste. It is not socialism and this caste is not withering. They refuse to die. They prefer to kill others. Even the best elements of the army, the instrument of their own defense.

I do not say that there must be established immediately an absolute equality. That is not possible. But the general tendency should be from the base bourgeois inequality towards equality, but we now have an absolutely opposite tendency. If you will establish statistical diagrams, it will prove that the highest stratum of the Soviet society is living like the highest bourgeoisie in America and Europe, the middle class like the middle bourgeoisie, and the workers worse than in a large country such as the United States. From the economic point of view the revolution signifies progress for Russia. Yes, it is absolutely indisputable. But it is not socialism. It is very far from socialism. It becomes now further and further from socialism.

*Q: What is your analysis of the situation in Japan? Will*

*Japan force Britain into a war in order to save her own face?*

*A:* I do not believe that Britain will be surprised in a war with Japan, but Britain cannot avoid a war, and when the war begins Japan will of course use the European situation for her own purposes. Britain will have a war with Japan. It is not a question of saving face, but of saving lives.

*Q: If Germany seizes Danzig,<sup>14</sup> what will Chamberlain do?*

*A:* If Germany seizes Danzig within the next month, it signifies that Germany wants a war, because Germany knows the situation. If Germany wishes war, a war there will be. If Germany feels she is strong enough, she will provoke a war, and Chamberlain will enter the war.

*Q: What is your judgment as to the probable course of events in Spain?*

*A:* I believe that the Spanish problem is only a small part of the European problem. Until the defeat it was a great problem. If the Spanish bourgeois republicans, with their socialist allies, with their Communist allies, or with their anarchist allies, had not succeeded in stifling the Spanish revolution—because it was not the victory of Franco, it was the defeat of the People's Front<sup>15</sup>—then they could hope that the victory of the Spanish proletariat could provoke a great revolutionary movement in France, and we observed the beginning of it in June 1936, in the sit-down strikes in France, and under this condition Europe could avoid a war, but Moscow succeeded in killing the Spanish revolution and helping Franco in his victory. It signifies now that Spain ceases to be an independent factor. Of course, in the socialist press of Mr. Norman Thomas, and in the even less intelligent press of Mr. Browder,<sup>16</sup> you can find they observe that Franco will not dominate Spain, that he will fall down. It was almost the same as the victory of Hitler in June 1933.<sup>17</sup> At that time, as now, I was of the opposite opinion. The strength of Franco is not in Franco himself, but in the complete bankruptcies of the Second and Third Internationals, in the leadership of the Spanish revolution.<sup>18</sup>

For the workers and peasants of Spain the defeat is not only a military accident, but it is a tremendous historic tragedy. It is the breakdown of their organizations, of their historical

ideal, of their trade unions, of their happiness, all of their hopes that they have cultivated for decades, even for centuries. Can a reasonable human being imagine that this class, during one, two, or three years, can create new organizations, a new militant spirit and overcome, in this form, Franco? I do not believe it. Spain is now, more than all [other] countries, remote from revolution. Of course, if the war begins, and I am sure that it will begin, the tempo of the revolutionary movement would be accelerated in all countries. We will have a war. We had the experience in the last world war. Now all nations are poorer. The means of destruction are incomparably more effective. The old generation has the old experience in their blood. The new generation will learn from experience and from the older generation. I am sure that a consequence of a new war would be revolution, and in this case Spain would also be involved in the revolution, not on their own initiative, but on the initiative of others.

*Q: What would be your advice to the United States as to its course in international affairs?*

*A:* I must say that I do not feel competent to give advice to the Washington government because of the same political reason for which the Washington government finds it is not necessary to give me a visa. We are in a different social position from the Washington government. I could give advice to a government which had the same objectives as my own, not to a capitalistic government, and the government of the United States, in spite of the New Deal,<sup>19</sup> is, in my opinion, an imperialistic and capitalistic government. I can only say what a revolutionary government should do—a genuine workers' government in the United States.

I believe the first thing would be to expropriate the Sixty Families.<sup>20</sup> It would be a very good measure, not only from the national point of view, but from the point of view of settling world affairs—it would be a good example to the other nations. To nationalize the banks; to give, by radical social measures, work to the ten or twelve millions unemployed; to give material aid to the farmers to facilitate free cultivation. I believe that it would signify the rise of the national income of the United States from \$67 billions to \$200 or \$300 billions a year in the next years, because the following years we cannot foresee the tremendous rise of the material power of this powerful nation, and of course such a nation could be the genuine dic-

tator of the world, but a very good one, and I am sure that in this case the fascist countries of Hitler and Mussolini,<sup>21</sup> and all their poor and miserable people would, in the last analysis, disappear from the historic scene if the United States, as the economic power, would find the political power to re-organize their present very sick economic structure.

I do not see any other outcome, any other solution. We have, during the last six or seven years, observed the New Deal politics. The New Deal provoked great hopes. I didn't share their hopes. I had, here in Mexico, a visit from some conservative senators, two years ago, and they asked me if we were still in favor of surgical revolutionary measures. I answered, I don't see any others but if the New Deal succeeds I am ready to abandon my revolutionary conception in favor of the New Deal conceptions. It did not succeed, and I dare to affirm that if Mr. Roosevelt were elected for the third term the New Deal would not succeed in the third term.<sup>22</sup> But this powerful economic body of the United States, the most powerful in the world, is in a state of decomposition. Nobody has indicated how to stop this decomposition. A whole new structure must be made, and it cannot be realized as long as you have the Sixty Families. This is why I began with the advice to expropriate them.

Two years ago, when your Congress passed the neutrality laws,<sup>23</sup> I had a discussion with some American politicians, and I expressed my astonishment about the fact that the most powerful nation in the world, with such creative power and technical genius, does not understand the world situation—that it is their wish to separate themselves from the world by a scrap of paper of the law of neutrality. If American capitalism survives, and it will survive for some time, we will have in the United States the most powerful imperialism and militarism in the world. We already see the beginning now. Of course, this armament is, as a fact, creating a new situation. Armaments are also an enterprise. To stop the armaments now without a war would cause the greatest social crisis in the world—ten millions of unemployed. The crisis would be enough to provoke a revolution, and the fear of this revolution is also a reason to continue the armaments, and the armaments become an independent factor of history. It is necessary to utilize them. Your ruling class had the slogan "Open Door to China," but what signifies it—only by battleships, in hope of preserving the freedom of the Pacific Ocean by a tremendous fleet. I don't see any other means of [defeating?] capitalistic

Japan. Who is capable of doing this but the most powerful nation in the world? America will say we don't wish a German peace. Japan is supported by German arms. We do not wish an Italian, German, Japanese peace. We will impose our American peace because we are stronger. It signifies an explosion of American militarism and imperialism.

This is the dilemma, socialism or imperialism. Democracy does not answer this question. This is the advice I would give to the American government.

## INDIA FACED WITH IMPERIALIST WAR<sup>24</sup>

July 25, 1939

Dear Friends:

Titanic and terrible events are approaching with implacable force. Mankind lives in expectation of war which will, of course, also draw into its maelstrom the colonial countries and which is of vital significance for their destiny. Agents of the British government depict the matter as though the war will be waged for principles of "democracy" which must be saved from fascism. All classes and peoples must rally around the "peaceful" "democratic" governments so as to repel the fascist aggressors. Then "democracy" will be saved and peace stabilized forever.

This gospel rests on a deliberate lie. If the British government were really concerned with the flowering of democracy then a very simple opportunity to demonstrate this exists: let the government give complete freedom to India. The right of national independence is one of the elementary democratic rights. But actually, the London government is ready to hand over all the democracies in the world in return for one-tenth of its colonies.

If the Indian people do not wish to remain as slaves for all eternity, then they must expose and reject those false preachers who assert that the *sole* enemy of the people is fascism. Hitler and Mussolini are, beyond doubt, the bitterest enemies of the toilers and oppressed. They are gory executioners, deserving of the greatest hatred from the toilers and oppressed of the world. But they are, before everything, the enemies of the German and Italian peoples on whose backs they sit. The oppressed classes and peoples—as Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Liebknecht have taught us<sup>25</sup>—must always seek out their main enemy at home, cast in the role of their own immediate oppressors and exploiters. In India that enemy above all is the British bourgeoisie. The overthrow of British imperialism would deliver a terrible blow at all the oppressors, including the fascist dictators.

In the long run the imperialists are distinguished from one another in form—not in essence. German imperialism, deprived of colonies, puts on the fearful mask of fascism with its saber-

teeth protruding. British imperialism, gorged, because it possesses immense colonies, hides its saber-teeth behind a mask of democracy. But this democracy exists only for the metropolitan center, for the 45,000,000 souls—or more correctly, for the ruling bourgeoisie—in the metropolitan center. India is deprived not only of democracy but of the most elementary right of national independence. Imperialist democracy is thus the democracy of slaveowners fed by the life blood of the colonies. But India seeks her own democracy, and not to serve as fertilizer for the slaveowners.

Those who desire to end fascism, reaction, and all forms of oppression must overthrow imperialism. There is no other road. This task cannot, however, be accomplished by peaceful methods, by negotiations and pledges. Never before in history have slaveowners voluntarily freed their slaves. Only a bold, resolute struggle of the Indian people for their economic and national emancipation can free India.

The Indian bourgeoisie is incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle. They are closely bound up with and dependent upon British capitalism. They tremble for their own property. They stand in fear of the masses. They seek compromises with British imperialism no matter what the price, and lull the Indian masses with hopes of reforms from above. The leader and prophet of this bourgeoisie is Gandhi.<sup>26</sup> A fake leader and a false prophet!

Gandhi and his compeers have developed a theory that India's position will constantly improve, that her liberties will continually be enlarged, and that India will gradually become a dominion on the road of peaceful reforms. Later on, perhaps even achieve full independence.

This entire perspective is false to the core. The imperialist classes were able to make concessions to colonial peoples as well as to their own workers, only so long as capitalism marched uphill, so long as the exploiters could firmly bank on the further growth of profits. Nowadays there cannot even be talk of this. World imperialism is in decline. The condition of all imperialist nations daily becomes more difficult while the contradictions between them become more and more aggravated. Monstrous armaments devour an ever-greater share of national incomes. The imperialists can no longer make serious concessions either to their own toiling masses or to the colonies. On the contrary, they are compelled to resort to an ever more bestial exploitation. It is precisely in this that capitalism's death agony is expressed. To retain their colonies, markets, and concessions from Germany, Italy, and

Japan, the London government stands ready to mow down millions of people. Is it possible, without losing one's senses, to pin any hopes that this greedy and savage financial oligarchy will voluntarily free India?

True enough, a government of the so-called Labour Party may replace the Tory government.<sup>27</sup> But this will alter nothing. The Labour Party—as witness its entire past and present program—is in no way distinguished from the Tories on the colonial question. The Labour Party in reality expresses not the interests of the working class, but only the interests of the British labor bureaucracy and labor aristocracy. It is to this stratum that the bourgeoisie can toss juicy morsels, due to the fact that they themselves ruthlessly exploit the colonies, above all India. The British labor bureaucracy—in the Labour Party as well as in the trade unions—is directly interested in the exploitation of colonies. It has not the slightest desire to think of the emancipation of India. All these gentlemen—Major Attlee, Sir Walter Citrine & Co.<sup>28</sup>—are ready at any moment to brand the revolutionary movement of the Indian people as "betrayal," as aid to Hitler and Mussolini, and to resort to military measures for its suppression.

In no way superior is the policy of the present day Communist International. To be sure, twenty years ago the Third, or Communist, International was founded as a genuine revolutionary organization. One of its most important tasks was the liberation of the colonial peoples. Only recollections today remain of this program, however. The leaders of the Communist International have long since become the mere tools of the Moscow bureaucracy which has stifled the Soviet working masses and which has become transformed into a new aristocracy. In the ranks of the Communist parties of various countries—including India—there are no doubt many honest workers, students, etc.: but they do not fix the politics of the Comintern. The deciding word belongs to the Kremlin, which is guided not by the interests of the oppressed, but by those of the USSR's new aristocracy.

Stalin and his clique, for the sake of an alliance with the imperialist governments, have completely renounced the revolutionary program for the emancipation of the colonies. This was openly avowed at the last congress of Stalin's party in Moscow in March of the current year by Manuilsky,<sup>29</sup> one of the leaders of the Comintern, who declared: "The Communists advance to the forefront the struggle for the realization of the right of self-determination of nationalities enslaved by fascist governments. They demand free self-determination for

Austria . . . the Sudeten regions . . . Korea, Formosa, Abyssinia. . . ." And what about India, Indochina, Algeria, and other colonies of England and France? The Comintern representative answers this question as follows, "The Communists . . . demand of the imperialist governments of the so-called bourgeois democratic states the immediate [sic] drastic [!] improvement in the living standards of the toiling masses in the colonies and the granting of broad democratic rights and liberties to the colonies" (*Pravda*, issue no. 70, March 12, 1939). In other words, as regards the colonies of England and France the Comintern has completely gone over to Gandhi's position and the position of the conciliationist colonial bourgeoisie in general.

The Comintern has completely renounced revolutionary struggle for India's independence. It "demands" (on its hands and knees) the "granting" of "democratic liberties" to India by British imperialism. The words "immediate drastic improvement in the living standards of the toiling masses in the colonies," have an especially false and cynical ring. Modern capitalism — declining, gangrenous, disintegrating — is more and more compelled to worsen the position of workers in the metropolitan center itself. How then can it improve the position of the toilers in the colonies from whom it is compelled to squeeze out all the juices of life so as to maintain its own state of equilibrium? The improvement of the conditions of the toiling masses in the colonies is possible only on the road to the complete overthrow of imperialism.

But the Communist International has traveled even further on this road of betrayal. Communists, according to Manuilsky, "subordinate the realization of this right of secession . . . in the interests of defeating fascism." In other words, in the event of war between England and France over colonies, the Indian people must support their present slaveowners, the British imperialists. That is to say, they must shed their blood not for their own emancipation, but for the preservation of the rule of "the City" [London's financial district] over India. And these cheaply-to-be-bought scoundrels dare to quote Marx and Lenin! As a matter of fact, their teacher and leader is none other than Stalin, the head of a new bureaucratic aristocracy, the butcher of the Bolshevik Party, the strangler of workers and peasants.

In the event that the Indian bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to take even the tiniest step on the road of struggle against the arbitrary rule of Great Britain, the proletariat will naturally support such a step. But they will support it with *their own* methods: mass meetings, bold slogans, strikes, demonstrations,

and more decisive combat actions, depending on the relationship of forces and the circumstances. Precisely to do this must the proletariat have its hands free. Complete independence from the bourgeoisie is indispensable to the proletariat, above all in order to exert influence on the peasantry, the predominant mass of India's population. Only the proletariat is capable of advancing a bold, revolutionary agrarian program, of rousing and rallying tens of millions of peasants and leading them in struggle against the native oppressors and British imperialism. The alliance of workers and poor peasants is the only honest, reliable alliance that can assure the final victory of the Indian revolution.

The Stalinists cover up their policy of servitude to British, French, and USA imperialism with the formula of "People's Front." What a mockery of the people! "People's Front" is only a new name for that old policy, the gist of which lies in class collaboration, in a coalition between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In every such coalition, the leadership invariably turns out to be in the hands of the right wing, that is, in the hands of the propertied class. The Indian bourgeoisie, as has already been stated, wants a peaceful horse trade and not a struggle. Coalition with the bourgeoisie leads to the proletariat's abnegating the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The policy of coalition implies marking time on one spot, temporizing, cherishing false hopes, engaging in hollow maneuvers and intrigues. As a result of this policy disillusionment inevitably sets in among the working masses, while the peasants turn their backs on the proletariat and fall into apathy. The German revolution, the Austrian revolution, the Chinese revolution and the Spanish revolution have all perished as a result of the policy of coalition.\*<sup>30</sup> The same danger also menaces the Indian revolution where the Stalinists, under the guise of "People's Front," are putting across a policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. This signifies, in action, a rejection of the revolutionary agrarian program, a rejection of arming the workers, a rejection of the struggle for power, a rejection of revolution.

All peacetime questions will preserve their full force in time of war, except that they will be invested with a far sharper

\*The experience of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 is of the most direct significance for India. I heartily recommend to the Indian revolutionists Harold Isaacs's excellent book, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*.

expression. First of all, exploitation of the colonies will become greatly intensified. The metropolitan centers will not only pump from the colonies foodstuffs and raw materials, but they will also mobilize vast numbers of colonial slaves who are to die on the battlefields for their masters. Meanwhile, the colonial bourgeoisie will have its snout deep in the trough of war orders and will naturally renounce opposition in the name of patriotism and profits. Gandhi is already preparing the ground for such a policy. These gentlemen will keep drumming: "We must wait patiently till the war ends—and then London will reward us for the assistance we have given." As a matter of fact, the imperialists will redouble and treble their exploitation of the toilers both at home and especially in the colonies so as to rehabilitate the country after the havoc and devastation of the war. In these circumstances there cannot even be talk of new social reforms in the metropolitan centers or of grants of liberties to the colonies. Double chains of slavery—that will be the inevitable consequence of the war if the masses of India follow the politics of Gandhi, the Stalinists, and their friends.

The war, however, may bring to India as well as to the other colonies not a redoubled slavery but, on the contrary, complete liberty: the proviso for this is a correct revolutionary policy. The Indian people must divorce their fate from the very outset from that of British imperialism. The oppressors and the oppressed stand on opposite sides of the trenches. No aid whatsoever to the slaveowners! On the contrary, those immense difficulties which the war will bring in its wake must be utilized so as to deal a mortal blow to all the ruling classes. That is how the oppressed classes and peoples in all countries should act, irrespective of whether Messrs. Imperialists don democratic or fascist masks.

To realize such a policy a *revolutionary party*, basing itself on the vanguard of the proletariat, is necessary. Such a party does not yet exist in India. The Fourth International offers this party its program, its experience, its collaboration. The basic conditions for this party are: complete independence from imperialist democracy, complete independence from the Second and Third Internationals, and complete independence from the national Indian bourgeoisie.

In a number of colonial and semicolonial countries sections of the Fourth International already exist and are making successful progress.<sup>31</sup> First place among them is unquestionably held by our section in French Indochina, which is conducting an irreconcilable struggle against French imperialism and "People's Front" mystifications. "The Stalinist leaders," it

is stated in the newspaper of the Saigon workers, *La Lutte* (The Struggle), of April 7, 1939, "have taken yet another step on the road of betrayal. Throwing off their masks as revolutionists, they have become champions of imperialism and openly speak out against emancipation of the oppressed colonial peoples." Owing to their bold revolutionary politics, the Saigon proletarians, members of the Fourth International, scored a brilliant victory over the bloc of the ruling party and the Stalinists at the elections to the colonial council held in April of this year.

The very same policy ought to be pursued by the advanced workers of British India. We must cast away false hopes and repel false friends. We must pin hope only upon ourselves, our own revolutionary forces. The struggle for national independence, for an independent Indian republic is indissolubly linked up with the agrarian revolution, with the nationalization of banks and trusts, with a number of other economic measures aiming to raise the living standard of the country and to make the toiling masses the masters of their own destiny. Only the proletariat in an alliance with the peasantry is capable of executing these tasks.

In its initial stage the revolutionary party will no doubt comprise a tiny minority. In contrast to other parties, however, it will render a clear accounting of the situation and fearlessly march towards its great goal. It is indispensable in all the industrial centers and cities to establish workers' groups, standing under the banner of the Fourth International. Only those intellectuals who have completely come over to the side of the proletariat must be allowed into these groups. Alien to sectarian self-immersion, the revolutionary worker-Marxists must actively participate in the work of the trade unions, educational societies, the Congress Socialist Party,<sup>32</sup> and in general, all mass organizations. Everywhere they remain as the extreme left wing, everywhere they set the example of courage in action, everywhere, in a patient and comradely manner, they explain their program to the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals. Impending events will come to the aid of the Indian Bolshevik-Leninists, revealing to the masses the correctness of their path. The party will grow swiftly and become tempered in the fire. Allow me to express my firm hope that the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of India will unfold under the banner of the Fourth International.

With warmest comradely greetings,  
Leon Trotsky

## OUR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION<sup>33</sup>

July 26, 1939

Dear Comrade:

Our international organization has practically ceased to exist since the assassination of Klement:<sup>34</sup> no bulletins, no press service, no circular letters—nothing.

After your return from Paris I proposed that the Pan-American Committee (PAC) function temporarily as a substitute for the IS.<sup>35</sup> I proposed that they publish at least every month a bulletin in English and Spanish. This was accepted in principle by the National Committee but practically nothing followed from this decision.

The PAC is a myth. Only after long insistence from abroad is it possible to receive a political answer from the PAC. It seems that there are not regular meetings, nor regular decisions, minutes, etc. Who is the responsible secretary of the committee? It seems that nobody is responsible for anything.

From the letter of Comrade G. in Paris<sup>36</sup> I do not see any plans for publishing the international bulletin, etc. Possibly in Paris and Europe generally it is now difficult to do something of this kind. The more is it necessary that the PAC exists and acts.

My concrete propositions are:

A. To fix exactly the personal composition of the PAC and its responsible secretary.

B. To create a technical subcommittee of three young, devoted, and active comrades under the direction of the responsible secretary.

C. To publish in the name of the PAC an international bulletin in English and Spanish.

D. If possible, transfer Comrade Curtiss<sup>37</sup> from Los Angeles to New York and appoint him as secretary of the PAC.

We have not the right to lose more time on the international field. I insist on a prompt regulation of this question.

Comradely yours,  
Vaughan T. O'Brien [Trotsky]

## "PROGRESSIVE PARALYSIS"<sup>38</sup>

### The Second International on the Eve of the New War

July 29, 1939

The internal life of the Second International remains as a rule beyond our horizon. This is partly due to the fact that we long ago settled accounts with the social democracy; partly due to the fact that this "International" has virtually no "internal life" inasmuch as its various parties exist in complete independence of one another. In recent years the Second International tried to make itself as inconspicuous as possible so as not to reveal its internal contradictions. However, the approach of the war has driven it out of its state of passive equilibrium. We have the remarkable testimony of F. Dan, the leader of the Mensheviks, as to this.<sup>39</sup>

In scarcely any other social democratic publication is it possible to find so frank a portrayal of the internal struggle in the Second International as provided by *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik* [Socialist Herald], the Menshevik organ issued in Paris. Frankness, as is always the case in such instances, is evoked by the intensification of internal struggles. In complete harmony with the entire character of the social patriotic "International" the groupings take place along national lines, that is, along the lines of the interests of the bourgeois "fatherlands." Just as the capitalist world is divided into the fat cows of imperialist democracies and the lean and greedy cows of the fascist dictatorships, so the Second International has broken up into a "satiated" group, who still remain shareholders in their national imperialist enterprises, and a group of lean cows driven from the national pastures by fascism. The struggle proceeds precisely along this line.

The leading role in the Second International prior to the First World War was played by the German Social Democracy. Since the Versailles peace,<sup>40</sup> leadership in the International as well as in European politics has been with England and France. As for the United States, the incontestable and in many ways decisive influence of her politics on the Second International is exerted not through the weak American Socialist Party but directly through the European governments.

The docile social democratic agency in this too only apes its capitalist masters. Just as the League of Nations in the last analysis adapted itself to the policy of the United States, despite the fact that the latter stood apart from European combinations, so the Second International, especially in the person of the British and French parties, considered it its duty at every step to keep an eye on Washington and to sing paeans to Roosevelt as the anointed leader of the alliance of "democracies."

As the last Socialist Congress at Nantes frankly acknowledged, the fat parties consider as their basic task the defense of not only the national independence of their countries but also their colonial possessions. Social patriotism is only a mask for social imperialism—we established this back in 1914. Inasmuch as the imperialist interests by their very nature conflict with one another, there cannot even be talk of a unified international policy of social patriots of various countries. In the best case, agreements of individual parties among themselves are possible, corresponding to the international combinations of their respective governments.

The camp of the lean parties is depicted by a different picture. In the character of their ruling bureaucracy, in their entire past, and in their aspirations these parties do not differ from the fat ones. But they, alas, have been deprived of pastures just as the imperialist fatherlands which cast them out were deprived of colonies. The fat ones are most of all concerned with preserving the status quo both within their own countries as well as internationally. For the lean ones, status quo implies impotence, exile, meager rations. The Italian, German, Austrian, and now the Spanish socialist parties too are not directly bound by the discipline of national imperialism, which rejected their services with a kick. They were cast into an illegality counter to their traditions and their best intentions. Because of this, naturally, they have not in the slightest degree become revolutionary. They do not of course so much as think of preparing the socialist revolution. But their patriotism is temporarily turned inside out. They stubbornly dream that the armed force of the "democracies" will overthrow their national fascist regime and enable them to reestablish themselves in their former posts, editorial offices, parliaments, leading bodies of the trade unions, and to reopen their bank accounts. While the fat ones are interested only in being left in peace, the lean ones, on the contrary, are interested in their own way in an active international policy.

The general picture of the two camps is somewhat complicated

by the Russian Mensheviks. As was shown by their conduct during the February revolution, this party differs in no way whatever from the German Social Democracy or the British Labour Party. The Mensheviks only entered later than the others upon the arena of social patriotism and fell under the wheel before the others, the wheel that crushed them rotating not from left to right but from right to left. Thanks to years of illegal existence, the experience of three revolutions, and two exiles, the Mensheviks have acquired a certain skill which enables them to play something akin to a leading role in the camp of the lean ones. But that makes them all the more hateful to their fat comrades in the International.

The Soviet state, to which the Mensheviks fell victim, in the meantime turned so drastically upon the proletarian revolution that it became a desirable ally to the imperialist states. In harmony with this the British and French socialist parties are extremely interested in a rapprochement with the Kremlin. Small wonder that the Russian Mensheviks have fallen under such conditions into the position not only of poor but compromising relations in their own International.

From Dan's article we learn that the "lean ones" proposed a year and a half ago that the International take up the "problem of the struggle for democracy and peace in our epoch." It is the question of that "active" international policy which would give back to the lean ones those lost layers of fat. Naturally one must have an unusual reserve of petty bourgeois narrow-mindedness not to understand to this day the iron law of the transformation of bourgeois democracy into its very opposite, and to continue to accept democracy as a supra-historical suitcase in which it is possible to carry a volume of *Das Kapital*, a parliamentary mandate, extra suspenders, a ministerial portfolio, stocks and bonds, the "final goal" of socialism, intimate correspondence with one's bourgeois colleagues, and anything else you please except, of course, explosives.

In point of fact, bourgeois democracy is the political formula for free trade, nothing more. To make one's aim in our epoch the "struggle for democracy" can be done with the same success and sense as the struggle for free trade. However even this program proved too radical for the Second International. "After a year's delay," complains the author of the article, "it (the Executive Committee) finally made the attempt to bring up for discussion the problem of the struggle for democracy and peace in our epoch." But, alas, "this attempt ended in failure." The resistance came of course from the side of the

fat ones. "The bigger and more influential parties of the International who have preserved their legal status," writes Dan, "did not desire widely to unfold the discussion and carry it to the end"; they rejected "abstract theorizing" and "sterile argumentation." In simple language, they refused to bind themselves to any kind of joint decisions which might in the future place them in conflict with the interests of their own national imperialisms.

The nub of the matter is that the "lean" sections of the Second International view the slogan of struggle for democracy against fascism seriously; because they themselves are victims of fascism and are, naturally, inclined to take back their lost posts with the aid of democratic tanks and battleships. This circumstance renders them very dangerous to the "solid" sections of the Second International. Let us recall that precisely at the beginning of this year the British and French diplomats did everything in their power to attract Italy to their side. Needless to say, if this attempt is successfully terminated the British and French sections of the Second International would adjust themselves perfectly to an alliance with Rome, whereas the Italian section would find it very difficult. All its fantastic hopes for a brighter future, namely, restoration of the past, lie in a military defeat of Mussolini. It is hardly surprising that the fat and the lean ones find it increasingly difficult to arrive at "unanimous" resolutions or even to sit at the same table.

The terminology employed by the Second International is somewhat different from the one we propose. The fat designate the lean simply as "dead"; while labeling themselves alone as "living," complains Dan. According to the same author these living ones "have chosen to proclaim the existence of an impassable gulf between the revolutionary (?) situation of the illegal and the reformist-legal parties, i.e., they have essentially proclaimed as artificial their unification in one International." Wels, Hilferding, Nenni, Dan himself, and other fighters "for democracy in our epoch" can be viewed as "revolutionists" as little as a bankrupt grocer can be taken for a proletarian.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless the factual information of the leader of the Mensheviks retains all its validity. The respectable parties of the sated colonial empires have declared that they have no business in one International with the illegal parties of the hungry imperialist countries. ". . . The elimination of the decisive participation of illegal parties in determining the policies of the International has become their immediate goal," continues Dan. "As is well known, they have to a considerable measure realized this during the sessions of the Executive Committee held in

Brussels, May 14-15." In other words, the fat ones have driven the lean from the leading organs of the Second International. They have thus resolved the "problem of struggle for democracy and peace in our epoch."

One cannot deny that in their actions there is much logic and sense. The rulers and their retinue have always, as is well known, preferred the company of fat people and mistrusted the lean. Julius Caesar suspected Cassius precisely because of his leanness and his hungry look. Such people are inclined to be critical and to draw reprehensible conclusions. "Your bourgeoisie, which was incapable of acquiring colonies in time, is now trying to disturb the holy status quo; that is why they have driven you into illegality and turned you into a disruptive element in the Second International; you must understand yourselves that you are only intruders in a solid organization which has in its ranks ministers and, generally, pillars of law and order." This is what the living, or the fat ones, had in mind.

The "lean" (or the dead) tried to argue that at the founding congress of the revived Second International held in Hamburg in 1923 a beautiful set of statutes was adopted which recognized, as Dan puts it, "the sovereignty of international-socialist policy over the national policy of individual parties and the decisive role of the International not only in peace but also in wartime." Not uninteresting is the fact that the above points were introduced into the statutes upon the initiative of Martov, the leader of the Russian Mensheviks.<sup>42</sup> Martov's "points" remained, as is self-evident, only on paper. The parties that signed the new statutes in 1923 were the same ones that committed treachery in 1914 — minus the revolutionary wing. The case-hardened social-imperialists were all the more ready to make verbal concessions to their allies of the Two-and-a-Half International because they themselves were still in need of cover on the left flank.<sup>43</sup> In those days the Comintern was still a revolutionary organization. The "sovereignty" of international principles? Of course! Provided "our" colonies, "our" markets, "our" concessions, including of course our democracy, are safeguarded. The regime of the Second International rested upon this equivocation until Hitler made a breach in the Versailles system.

But even for the extreme "left" opposition the "sovereignty of international principles" signifies, as we already know, not the independent class policy of the proletariat but only an attempt to arrive at agreement with other sections on the question: The victory of whose bourgeoisie is most advantageous

(for the lean)? In the apparatus of this International not a single individual is to be found who seriously holds the position of proletarian revolution. To all of them the proletariat is only a force auxiliary to the "progressive" bourgeoisie. Their internationalism is the very same social patriotism, only crushed, discredited, afraid of venturing into the open, and ever in search of camouflage.

Dan explains the policy of the "living" parties by the "routine" of their political thought, by their "nearsightedness," "empiricism" and other intangible causes. The "nearsightedness" of this explanation literally strikes one between the eyes. Empiricism prevails in politics whenever a certain group finds it disadvantageous to draw its own thoughts to their logical conclusion. Existence, it was once said, determines consciousness. The labor bureaucracy is an integral part of bourgeois society. In his capacity as leader of "His Majesty's Opposition," Major Attlee receives a substantial salary from the royal exchequer. Walter Citrine earned a title in the nobility. Members of parliament enjoy great privileges. The trade union bureaucrats receive high salaries. All of them are chained by continuous links to the bourgeoisie, to its press, its industrial and other enterprises, in which many of these gentlemen participate directly. These circumstances of day-to-day existence are of incomparably greater significance in guiding party policy than is the principle of "internationalism" which was smuggled into the Hamburg statutes.

Dan has nothing at all to say about the French party, apparently out of politeness to the hosts whose hospitality the Mensheviks enjoy. However, in France things are not much better. Despite the incontestable talent of the French for logical thought, the politics of Leon Blum in no way differs from the "empirical" politics of Major Attlee.<sup>44</sup> The leading socialist and trade union cliques have their roots intertwined with those of the ruling stratum of the Third Republic. Blum is merely a conservative middle bourgeois who fatally gravitates to the society of the big bourgeois. During the Oustrich investigation,<sup>45</sup> the case of the banker and swindler, it was revealed in passing that Blum frequented the arch-bourgeois salon, where he rubbed shoulders with conservative politicians and financial moguls, among them Oustrich in particular, and through the latter arranged, over a cup of coffee, a post for his son. The day-to-day life of the tops of the French labor party and the trade unions is comprised wholly of such colorful episodes.

The ruling bureaucracy of the Second International is the

least independent, the most cowardly and corrupted section of bourgeois society. All shifts in the situation whether to the right or the left are of mortal danger to them. Hence their sole urge: to maintain the status quo; hence their compulsory "empiricism," i.e., fear to look into the future. The policy of the Executive Committee of the Second International can perplex only those who contrary to the evidence of reality insist on considering the social democracy as the class party of the proletariat. Everything falls immediately into its proper place, if one clearly understands that the social democracy is a bourgeois party, fulfilling the function of a "democratic" brake upon the class struggle of the proletariat.

The conduct of "empiricists" on good salaries, "has in reality already paralyzed and castrated the International politically," complains Dan. According to him, during the five month period following its January session, the Executive Committee failed to react to a single international event of major importance (Czechoslovakia, Albania, etc.).<sup>46</sup> "It is as if it (the Executive Committee) had sunk into a state of political encephalitis." And the leader of the Mensheviks asks: "Is the Socialist International really threatened with the death that has already befallen the Communist International? . . ." He continues: "Will the first blast of the war tempest really wreak more havoc with the foundations of the international socialist unification of the proletariat than was the case in 1914? Or will this unification collapse itself even before the storm breaks!" The word "really" has a discordant ring, since in question here are long established processes and long ago predicted consequences.

But be that as it may, rhetorical questions from a Menshevik pen acquire special force. They signify that the flood waters have risen above their chins. Dan does not hide this. Here is his "conditional" prognosis for the Second International: "Its transformation into a kind of League of Nations carries with it the threat of the same death from which its Geneva prototype is dying (if it is not already dead!) before our very eyes—death from progressive paralysis." To which we need only add that this progressive paralysis started in August 1914 and has today entered its final stage.

Astonishingly enough, precisely at the threshold of a new war, at the moment when the social democratic opposition began to feel premonitions of the collapse of its own International, the Comintern found the Second International ripe enough for alliance and even for fusion. This apparent para-

dox is wholly in accordance with social law. The Comintern herd now likewise consists of fat and lean cows and the reciprocal relation between them approximately parallels that in the Second International. In its diplomatic plans the Kremlin takes into account the fat parties of the Second and Third Internationals and not the poor and pitiful splinters of sections smashed by fascism. The Second International ejects "democratically" from its leading organs the leaders of illegal parties; the Kremlin shoots them "in a totalitarian manner" in batches. The minor difference in technique leaves undisturbed the basic political solidarity. Just as the international social democracy constitutes the left flank of democratic imperialism, led by Great Britain and under the supreme control of the United States; just so the Comintern—the direct instrument of the Soviet bureaucracy—is, in the last analysis, subject to the control of the very same imperialism. Following in the footsteps of the Second International, the Comintern has today publicly renounced the colonial struggle for emancipation. Attlee and Pollitt, Blum and Thorez work in the same harness.<sup>47</sup> In case of war the last remaining distinctions between them will vanish. All of them together with bourgeois society as a whole will be crushed under the wheel of history.

We must once again repeat that in our cursed epoch, when all the forces of capitalism as it rots alive, including the old labor parties and trade unions, are directed against the socialist revolution, the march of events provides the proletarian vanguard with one priceless advantage: even prior to the outbreak of the war all the starting positions have been occupied, both Internationals in their death agony are openly entering the camp of imperialism—and just as openly against them marches their mortal enemy, the Fourth International.

Philistines have mocked at our interminable discussions on the question of internationalism, at our "captiousness" towards all social patriotic and pacifist deviations. To these gentlemen our ideas seem "abstract" and "dogmatic" only because our ideas formulate the basic tendencies of historical development, which remain impenetrable to the superficial minds of opportunists and centrists. These basic tendencies are now emerging into the open, while the structures built on conjunctural foundations are toppling. The parties of the Second and Third Internationals from now on will disintegrate and crumble. The cadres of the Fourth International on the contrary will serve as the axis for the mobilization of increasingly broader proletarian masses. We leave it to skeptics to bare their rotten teeth. We march forward on our road.

## INDEPENDENCE OF THE UKRAINE AND SECTARIAN MUDDLEHEADS<sup>48</sup>

July 30, 1939

In one of the tiny, sectarian publications which appear in America and which thrive upon the crumbs from the table of the Fourth International, and repay with blackest ingratitude, I chanced across an article devoted to the Ukrainian problem. What confusion! The author-sectarian is, of course, opposed to the slogan of an independent Soviet Ukraine. He is *for* the world revolution and *for* socialism—"root and branch." He accuses us of ignoring the interests of the USSR and of retreating from the concept of the permanent revolution.<sup>49</sup> He indicts us as centrists. The critic is very severe, almost implacable. Unfortunately, he understands nothing at all (the name of this tiny publication, *The Marxist*, rings rather ironically). But his incapacity to understand assumes such finished, almost classical forms as can enable us better and more fully to clarify the question.

Our critic takes as his point of departure the following position: "If the workers in the Soviet Ukraine overthrow Stalinism and reestablish a genuine workers' state, shall they separate from the rest of the Soviet Union? No." And so forth and so on. "If the workers overthrow Stalinism. . . ." then we shall be able to see more clearly what to do. But Stalinism must first be overthrown. And in order to achieve this, one must not shut one's eyes to the growth of separatist tendencies in the Ukraine, but rather give them a correct political expression.

"Not turning our backs on the Soviet Union," continues the author, "but its regeneration and reestablishment as a mighty citadel of world revolution—that is the road of Marxism." The actual trend of the development of the masses, in this instance, of the nationally oppressed masses, is replaced by our sage with speculations as to the best possible roads of development. With this method, but with far greater logic, one might say, "Not defending a degenerated Soviet Union is our task, but the victorious world revolution which will transform the whole world into a World Soviet Union," etc. Such aphorisms come cheap.

The critic repeats several times my statement to the effect that the fate of an independent Ukraine is indissolubly bound up with the world proletarian revolution. From this general perspective, ABC for a Marxist, he contrives however to make a recipe of temporizing passivity and national nihilism. The triumph of the proletarian revolution on a world scale is the end-product of multiple movements, campaigns and battles, and not at all a ready-made precondition for solving all questions automatically. Only a direct and bold posing of the Ukrainian question in the given concrete circumstances will facilitate the rallying of petty-bourgeois and peasant masses around the proletariat, just as in Russia in 1917.

True enough, our author might object that in Russia prior to October it was the bourgeois revolution that unfolded, whereas today we have the socialist revolution already behind us. A demand which might have been progressive in 1917 is nowadays reactionary. Such reasoning, wholly in the spirit of bureaucrats and sectarians, is false from beginning to end.

The right of national self-determination is, of course, a democratic and not a socialist principle. But genuinely democratic principles are supported and realized in our era only by the revolutionary proletariat; it is for this very reason that they interlace with socialist tasks. The resolute struggle of the Bolshevik Party for the right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities in Russia facilitated in the extreme the conquest of power by the proletariat. It was as if the proletarian revolution had sucked in the democratic problems, above all, the agrarian and national problems, giving to the Russian Revolution a combined character. The proletariat was already undertaking socialist tasks but it could not immediately raise to this level the peasantry and the oppressed nations (themselves predominantly peasant) who were absorbed with solving their democratic tasks.

Hence flowed the historically inescapable compromises in the agrarian as well as the national sphere. Despite the economic advantages of large-scale agriculture, the Soviet government was compelled to divide up large estates. Only several years later was the government able to pass to collective farming and then it immediately leaped too far ahead and found itself compelled, a few years later, to make concessions to the peasants in the shape of private land-holdings which in many places tend to devour the collective farms. The next stages of this contradictory process have not yet been resolved.

The need for compromise, or rather for a number of compromises, similarly arises in the field of the national question, whose paths are no more rectilinear than the paths of the

agrarian revolution. The federated structure of the Soviet Republic represents a compromise between the centralist requirements of planned economy and the decentralist requirements of the development of nations oppressed in the past. Having constructed a workers' state on the compromise principle of a federation, the Bolshevik Party wrote into the constitution the right of nations to complete separation, indicating thereby that the party did not at all consider the national question as solved once and for all.

The author of the critical article argues that the party leaders hoped "to convince the masses to stay within the framework of the Federated Soviet Republic." This is correct, if the word "convince" is taken not in the sense of logical arguments but in the sense of passing through the experiences of economic, political, and cultural collaboration. Abstract agitation in favor of centralism does not of itself carry great weight. As has already been said, the federation was a necessary departure from centralism. It must also be added that the very composition of the federation is by no means given beforehand once and for all. Depending on objective conditions, a federation may develop toward greater centralism, or on the contrary, toward greater independence of its national component parts. Politically it is not at all a question of whether it is advantageous "in general" for various nationalities to live together within the framework of a single state, but rather it is a question of whether or not a particular nationality has, on the basis of her own experience, found it advantageous to adhere to a given state.

In other words: Which of the two tendencies in the given circumstances gains the ascendancy in the compromise regime of a federation—the centrifugal or the centripetal? Or to put it even more concretely: Have Stalin and his Ukrainian satraps succeeded in convincing the Ukrainian masses of the superiority of Moscow's centralism over Ukrainian independence or have they failed? This question is of decisive importance. Yet our author does not even suspect its existence.

Do the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR? It might at first sight appear difficult to answer this question, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, like all other peoples of the USSR, are deprived of any opportunity to express their will. But the very genesis of the totalitarian regime and its ever more brutal intensification, especially in the Ukraine, are proof that the real will of the Ukrainian masses is irreconcilably hostile to the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no lack of evidence that one of the primary sources of this hostility is the suppression of Ukrainian independence. The

nationalist tendencies in the Ukraine erupted violently in 1917-19. The Borotba Party expressed these tendencies in the left wing.<sup>50</sup> The most important indication of the success of the Leninist policy in the Ukraine was the fusion of the Ukrainian Bolshevik Party with the organization of the Borotbists.

In the course of the next decade, however, an actual break occurred with the Borotba group, whose leaders were subjected to persecution. The Old Bolshevik Skrypnik, a pure-blooded Stalinist, was driven to suicide in 1933 for his allegedly excessive patronage of nationalist tendencies. The actual "organizer" of this suicide was the Stalinist emissary, Postyshev, who thereupon remained in the Ukraine as the representative of the centralist policy.<sup>51</sup> Presently, however, Postyshev himself fell into disgrace. These facts are profoundly symptomatic, for they reveal how much force there is behind the pressure of the nationalist opposition on the bureaucracy. Nowhere did the purges and repressions assume such a savage and mass character as they did in the Ukraine.

Of enormous political importance is the sharp turn away from the Soviet Union of Ukrainian democratic elements outside the Soviet Union. When the Ukrainian problem became aggravated early this year, Communist voices were not heard at all; but the voices of the Ukrainian clericals and National Socialists were loud enough. This means that the proletarian vanguard has let the Ukrainian national movement slip out of its hands and that this movement has progressed far on the road of separatism. Lastly, very indicative also are the moods among the Ukrainian emigres in the North American continent. In Canada, for instance, where the Ukrainians compose the bulk of the Communist Party, there began in 1933, as I am informed by a prominent participant in the movement, a marked exodus of Ukrainian workers and farmers from communism, falling either into passivity or nationalism of various hues. In their totality, these symptoms and facts incontestably testify to the growing strength of separatist tendencies among the Ukrainian masses.

This is the basic fact underlying the whole problem. It shows that despite the giant step forward taken by the October Revolution in the domain of national relations, the isolated proletarian revolution in a backward country proved incapable of solving the national question, especially the Ukrainian question which is, in its very essence, international in character. The Thermidorean reaction, crowned by Bonapartist bureaucracy, has thrown the toiling masses far back in the national sphere as well.<sup>52</sup> The great masses of the Ukrainian people are dis-

satisfied with their national fate and wish to change it drastically. It is this fact that the revolutionary politician must, in contrast to the bureaucrat and the sectarian, take as his point of departure.

If our critic were capable of thinking politically, he would have surmised without much difficulty the arguments of the Stalinists against the slogan of an independent Ukraine: "It negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union"; "disrupts the unity of the revolutionary masses"; "serves not the interests of revolution but those of imperialism." In other words, the Stalinists would repeat all the three arguments of our author. They will unfailingly do so on the morrow.

The Kremlin bureaucracy tells the Soviet woman: Inasmuch as there is socialism in our country, you must be happy and you must give up abortions (or suffer the penalty). To the Ukrainian they say: Inasmuch as the socialist revolution has solved the national question, it is your duty to be happy in the USSR and to renounce all thought of separation (or face the firing squad).

What does a revolutionist say to the woman? "You will decide yourself whether you want a child; I will defend your right to abortion against the Kremlin police." To the Ukrainian people he says: "Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the 'socialistic' sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might!"

The sectarian, as so often happens, finds himself siding with the police, covering up the status quo, that is, police violence, by sterile speculation on the superiority of the socialist unification of nations as against their remaining divided. Assuredly, the separation of the Ukraine is a liability as compared with a voluntary and equalitarian socialist federation: but it will be an unquestionable asset as compared with the bureaucratic strangulation of the Ukrainian people. In order to draw together more closely and honestly, it is sometimes necessary first to separate. Lenin often used to cite the fact that the relations between the Norwegian and Swedish workers improved and became closer after the disruption of the compulsory unification of Sweden and Norway.

We must proceed from facts and not ideal norms. The Thermidorean reaction in the USSR, the defeat of a number of revolutions, the victories of fascism—which is carving the map of Europe in its own fashion—must be paid for in genuine currency in all spheres, including that of the Ukrainian question. Were we to ignore the new situation created as a result

of defeats, were we to pretend that nothing extraordinary has occurred, and were we to counterpose familiar abstractions to unpleasant facts, then we could very well surrender to reaction the remaining chances for vengeance in the more or less immediate future.

Our author interprets the slogan of an independent Ukraine as follows: "*First* the Soviet Ukraine must be freed from the rest of the Soviet Union; *then* we will have the proletarian revolution and unification of the rest of the Ukraine." But how can there be a separation without first a revolution? The author is caught in a vicious circle, and the slogan of an independent Ukraine together with Trotsky's "faulty logic" is hopelessly discredited. In point of fact this peculiar logic—"first" and "then"—is only a striking example of scholastic thinking. Our hapless critic has no inkling of the fact that historical processes may occur not "first" and "then" but run parallel to each other, exert influence upon each other, speed or retard each other; and that the task of revolutionary politics consists precisely in speeding up the mutual action and reaction of progressive processes. The barb of the slogan of an independent Ukraine is aimed directly against the Moscow bureaucracy and enables the proletarian vanguard to rally the peasant masses. On the other hand, the same slogan opens up for the proletarian party the opportunity of playing a leading role in the national Ukrainian movement in Poland, Rumania, and Hungary. Both of these political processes will drive the revolutionary movement forward and increase the specific weight of the proletarian vanguard.

My statement to the effect that workers and peasants of Western Ukraine (Poland) do not want to join the Soviet Union, as it is now constituted, and that this fact is an additional argument in favor of an independent Ukraine, is parried by our sage with the assertion that even if they desired, they could not join the Soviet Union because they could do so only "after the proletarian revolution in Western Ukraine" (obviously Poland). In other words: *Today* the separation of the Ukraine is impossible, and *after* the revolution triumphs, it would be reactionary. An old and familiar refrain!

Luxemburg, Bukharin, Pyatakov and many others used this very same argument against the program of national self-determination:<sup>53</sup> under capitalism it is utopian; under socialism, reactionary. The argument is false to the core because it ignores the epoch of the social revolution and its tasks. To be sure, under the domination of imperialism a genuine stable and reliable independence of the small and intermediate nations is

impossible. It is equally true that under fully developed socialism, that is to say, with the progressive withering away of the state, the question of national boundaries will fall away. But between these two moments—the present day and complete socialism—intervene those decades in the course of which we are preparing to realize our program. The slogan of an independent Soviet Ukraine is of paramount importance for mobilizing the masses and for educating them in the transitional period.

The sectarian simply ignores the fact that the national struggle, one of the most labyrinthine and complex but at the same time extremely important forms of the class struggle, cannot be suspended by bare references to the future world revolution. With their eyes turned away from the USSR, and failing to receive support and leadership from the international proletariat, the petty-bourgeois and even working class masses of the Western Ukraine are falling victim to reactionary demagogic. Similar processes are undoubtedly also taking place in the Soviet Ukraine, only it is more difficult to lay them bare. The slogan of an independent Ukraine advanced in time by the proletarian vanguard will lead to the unavoidable stratification of the petty bourgeoisie and render it easier for its lower tiers to ally themselves with the proletariat. Only thus is it possible to prepare the proletarian revolution.

"If the workers carry through a successful revolution in Western Ukraine . . ." persists our author, "should our strategy then be to demand that the Soviet Ukraine separate and join its western section? Just the opposite." This assertion plumbs to the bottom the depth of "our strategy." Again we hear the same melody: "If the workers carry through. . ." The sectarian is satisfied with logical deduction from a victorious revolution supposedly already achieved. But for a revolutionist the nub of the question lies precisely in how to clear a road to the revolution, how to render an approach to revolution easier for the masses, how to draw the revolution closer, how to assure its triumph. "If the workers carry though . . ." a victorious revolution, everything will of course be fine. But just now there is no victorious revolution; instead there is victorious reaction.

To find the bridge from reaction to revolution—that is the task. This is the import, by the way, of our entire program of transitional demands (*The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*).<sup>54</sup> Small wonder that the sectarians of all shadings fail to understand its meaning. They operate by means of abstractions—an abstraction of

imperialism and an abstraction of the socialist revolution. The question of the transition from real imperialism to real revolution, the question of how to mobilize the masses in the given historical situation for the conquest of power, remains for these sterile wiseacres a book sealed with seven seals.

Piling one dire accusation indiscriminately on top of another, our critic declares that the slogan of an independent Ukraine serves the interests of the imperialists (!) and the Stalinists (!! ) because it "completely negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union." It is impossible to understand just why the "interests of the Stalinists" are dragged in. But let us confine ourselves to the question of the defense of the USSR. This defense could be menaced by an independent Ukraine only if the latter were hostile not only to the bureaucracy but also to the USSR. However, given such a premise (obviously false), how can a socialist demand that a hostile Ukraine be retained within the framework of the USSR? Or does the question involve only the period of the national revolution?

Yet our critic apparently recognized the inevitability of a political revolution against the Bonapartist bureaucracy.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile this revolution, like every revolution, will undoubtedly present a certain danger from the standpoint of defense. What to do? Had our critic really thought out the problem, he would have replied that such a danger is an inescapable historical risk which cannot be evaded, for under the rule of the Bonapartist bureaucracy the USSR is doomed. The very same reasoning equally and wholly applies to the revolutionary national uprising which represents nothing else but a single segment of the political revolution.

It is noteworthy that the most serious argument against independence does not even enter the mind of our critic. The economy of the Soviet Ukraine enters integrally into this plan. The separation of the Ukraine threatens to break down the plan and to lower the productive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An economic plan is not the holy of holies. If national sections within the federation, despite the unified plan, are pulling in opposite directions, it means that the plan does not satisfy them. A plan is the handiwork of men. It can be reconstructed in accordance with new boundaries. In so far as the plan is advantageous for the Ukraine she will herself desire and know how to reach the necessary economic agreement with the Soviet Union, just as she will be able to conclude the necessary military alliance.

Moreover, it is impermissible to forget that the plunder and arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy constitute an important

integral part of the current economic plan, and exact a heavy toll from the Ukraine. The plan must be drastically revised first and foremost from this standpoint. The outlived ruling caste is systematically destroying the country's economy, the army and its culture; it is annihilating the flower of the population and preparing the ground for a catastrophe. The heritage of the revolution can be saved only by an overturn. The bolder and more resolute is the policy of the proletarian vanguard on the national question among others, all the more successful will be the revolutionary overturn, all the lower its overhead expenses.

The slogan of an independent Ukraine does not signify that the Ukraine will remain forever isolated, but only this, that she will again determine for herself and of her own free will the question of her interrelations with other sections of the Soviet Union and her western neighbors. Let us take an ideal variant most favorable for our critic. The revolution occurs simultaneously in all parts of the Soviet Union. The bureaucratic octopus is strangled and swept aside. The constituent congress of the Soviets is on the order of the day.

The Ukraine expresses a desire to determine anew her relations with the USSR. Even our critic, let us hope, will be ready to extend her this right. But in order freely to determine her relations with other Soviet republics, in order to possess the right of saying yes or no, the Ukraine must return to herself complete freedom of action, at least for the duration of this constituent period. There is no other name for this than state independence.

Now let us further suppose that the revolution simultaneously embraces also Poland, Rumania, and Hungary. All sections of the Ukrainian people become free and enter into negotiations to join the Soviet Ukraine. At the same time they all express the desire to have their say on the question of the interrelations between a unified Ukraine and the Soviet Union, with Soviet Poland, etc. It is self-evident that to decide all these questions it will be necessary to convene the constituent congress of the unified Ukraine. But a "constituent" congress signifies nothing else but the congress of an independent state which prepares anew to determine its own domestic regime as well as its international position.

There is every reason to assume that in the event of the triumph of the world revolution the tendencies toward unity will immediately acquire enormous force, and that all Soviet republics will find the suitable forms of ties and collaboration. This goal will be achieved only provided the old and com-

pulsory ties, and in consequence old boundaries, are completely destroyed; only provided each of the contracting parties is completely independent. To speed and facilitate this process, to make possible a genuine brotherhood of the peoples in the future, the advanced workers of Great Russia must even now understand the causes for Ukrainian separatism, as well as the latent power and historical lawfulness behind it, and they must without any reservation declare to the Ukrainian people that they are ready to support with all their might the slogan of an independent Soviet Ukraine in a joint struggle against the autocratic bureaucracy and against imperialism.

The petty-bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists consider correct the slogan of an independent Ukraine. But they object to the correlation of this slogan with the proletarian revolution. They want an independent democratic Ukraine and not a Soviet Ukraine. It is unnecessary to enter here into a detailed analysis of this question because it touches not the Ukraine alone but rather the general evaluation of our epoch, which we have analyzed many times. We shall outline only the most important aspects.

Democracy is degenerating and perishing even in its metropolitan centers. Only the wealthiest colonial empires or especially privileged bourgeois countries are still able to maintain nowadays a regime of democracy, and even there it is obviously on the downgrade. There is not the slightest basis for hoping that the comparatively impoverished and backward Ukraine will be able to establish and maintain a regime of democracy. Indeed the very independence of the Ukraine would not be long-lived in an imperialist environment. The example of Czechoslovakia is eloquent enough. As long as the laws of imperialism prevail, the fate of small and intermediate nations will remain unstable and unreliable. Imperialism can be overthrown only by the proletarian revolution.

The main section of the Ukrainian nation is represented by the present-day Soviet Ukraine. A powerful and purely Ukrainian proletariat has been created there by the development of industry. It is they who are destined to be the leaders of the Ukrainian people in all their future struggles. The Ukrainian proletariat wishes to free itself from the clutches of the bureaucracy. The slogan of a democratic Ukraine is historically belated. The only thing it is good for is perhaps to console bourgeois intellectuals. It will not unite the masses. And without the masses, the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine are impossible.

Our severe critic flings at us the term "centrism" at every

opportunity. According to him, the entire article was written so as to expose the glaring example of our "centrism." But he does not make even a single attempt to demonstrate wherein precisely consists the "centrism" of the slogan of an independent Soviet Ukraine. Assuredly, that is no easy task.

Centrism is the name applied to that policy which is opportunist in substance and which seeks to appear as revolutionary in form. Opportunism consists in a passive adaption to the ruling class and its regime, to that which already exists, including, of course, the state boundaries. Centrism shares completely this fundamental trait of opportunism, but in adapting itself to the dissatisfied workers, centrism veils it by means of radical commentaries.

If we proceed from this scientific definition, it will appear that the position of our hapless critic is in part and in whole centrist. He takes as a starting point the specific (accidental—from the standpoint of rational and revolutionary politics) boundaries which cut nations into segments, as if this were something immutable. The world revolution, which is for him not living reality but the incantation of a witch-doctor, must unequivocally accept these boundaries as its point of departure.

He is not at all concerned with the centrifugal nationalist tendencies which may flow into either the channels of reaction or the channels of revolution. They violate his lazy administrative blueprint constructed on the model of: "*first*" and "*then*." He shies away from the struggle for national independence against bureaucratic strangulation and takes refuge in speculations on the superiorities of socialist unity. In other words, his politics—if scholastic commentaries on other people's politics may be called politics—bear the worst traits of centrism.

The sectarian is an opportunist who stands in fear of himself. In sectarianism, opportunism (centrism) remains unfolded in its initial stages, like a delicate bud. Presently the bud unfolds, one-third, one-half, and sometimes more. Then we have the peculiar combination of sectarianism and centrism (Vereecken); of sectarianism and low-grade opportunism (Sneevliet). But on occasion the bud shrivels away, without unfolding (Oehler). If I am not mistaken, Oehler is the editor of *The Marxist*<sup>56</sup>

## THREE CONCEPTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION<sup>57</sup>

August 1939

The revolution of 1905 became not only "the dress rehearsal for 1917" but also the laboratory from which emerged all the basic groupings of Russian political thought, and where all tendencies and shadings within Russian Marxism took shape or were outlined.<sup>58</sup> The center of the disputes and differences was naturally occupied by the question of the historical character of the Russian revolution and its future paths of development. In and of itself this war of conceptions and prognoses does not relate directly to the biography of Stalin, who took no independent part in it. Those few propaganda articles which he wrote on the subject are without the slightest theoretical interest. Scores of Bolsheviks, with pens in hand, popularized the very same ideas and did it much more ably. A critical exposition of the revolutionary conception of Bolshevism should, in the very nature of things, have entered into a biography of Lenin.

However, theories have a fate of their own. If in the period of the first revolution and thereafter up to 1923, when revolutionary doctrines were elaborated and realized, Stalin held no independent position, then from 1924 on the situation changes abruptly. There opens up the epoch of bureaucratic reaction and of drastic reviews of the past. The film of the revolution is run off in reverse. Old doctrines are submitted to new appraisals or new interpretations. Quite unexpectedly, at first sight, the center of attention is held by the conception of "the permanent revolution" as the fountainhead of all the blunderings of "Trotskyism." For a number of years thereafter the criticism of this conception constitutes the main content of the theoretical — *sit venio verbo* [if such a word can be used]—work of Stalin and his collaborators. It may be said that the whole of Stalinism, taken on the theoretical plane, grew out of the criticism of the theory of the permanent revolution as it was formulated in 1905. To this extent the exposition of this theory, as distinct from the theories of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, cannot fail to enter into this book, even if in the form of an appendix.

The development of Russia is characterized first of all by backwardness. Historical backwardness does not, however, signify a simple reproduction of the development of advanced countries, with merely a delay of one or two centuries. It engenders an entirely new "combined" social formation in which the latest conquests of capitalist technique and structure root themselves into relations of feudal and pre-feudal barbarism, transforming and subjecting them and creating a peculiar inter-relationship of classes. The same thing applies in the sphere of ideas. Precisely because of her historical tardiness Russia turned out to be the only European country where Marxism as a doctrine and the social democracy as a party attained powerful development even before the bourgeois revolution. It is only natural that the problem of the correlation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism was submitted to the most profound theoretical analysis precisely in Russia.

Idealist-democrats, chiefly the Narodniks,<sup>59</sup> refused superstitiously to recognize the impending revolution as bourgeois. They labelled it "democratic" seeking by means of a neutral political formula to mask its social content—not only from others but also from themselves. But in the struggle against Narodnikism, Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism, established as long ago as the early eighties of the last century that Russia had no reason whatever to expect a privileged path of development, that like other "profane" nations, she would have to pass through the purgatory of capitalism and that precisely along this path she would acquire political freedom indispensable for the further struggle of the proletariat for socialism. Plekhanov not only separated the bourgeois revolution as a task from the socialist revolution—which he postponed to the indefinite future—but he depicted for each of these entirely different combinations of forces. Political freedom was to be achieved by the proletariat in alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie; after many decades and on a higher level of capitalist development, the proletariat would then carry out the socialist revolution in direct struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Lenin, on his part, wrote at the end of 1904:

"To the Russian intellectual it always seems that to recognize our revolution as bourgeois is to discolor it, degrade it, debase it. . . . For the proletariat the struggle for political freedom and for the democratic republic in bourgeois society is simply a necessary stage in the struggle for the socialist revolution."

"Marxists are absolutely convinced," he wrote in 1905, "of

the bourgeois character of the Russian revolution. What does this mean? This means that those democratic transformations . . . which have become indispensable for Russia do not, in and of themselves, signify the undermining of capitalism, the undermining of bourgeois rule, but on the contrary they clear the soil, for the first time and in a real way, for a broad and swift, for a European and not an Asiatic, development of capitalism. They will make possible for the first time the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class. . . ."

"We cannot leap over the bourgeois democratic framework of the Russian revolution," he insisted, "but we can extend this framework to a colossal degree." That is to say, we can create within bourgeois society much more favorable conditions for the future struggle of the proletariat. Within these limits Lenin followed Plekhanov. The bourgeois character of the revolution served both factions of the Russian Social Democracy as their starting point.

It is quite natural that under these conditions, Koba (Stalin) did not go in his propaganda beyond those popular formulas which constitute the common property of Bolsheviks as well as Mensheviks.

"The Constituent Assembly," he wrote in January 1905, "elected on the basis of equal, direct, and secret universal suffrage—this is what we must now fight for! Only this Assembly will give us the democratic republic, so urgently needed by us for our struggle for socialism." The bourgeois republic as an arena for a protracted class struggle for the socialist goal—such is the perspective.

In 1907, i.e., after innumerable discussions in the press both in Petersburg and abroad and after a serious testing of theoretical prognoses in the experiences of the first revolution, Stalin wrote:

"That our revolution is bourgeois, that it must conclude by destroying the feudal and not the capitalist order, that it can be crowned only by the democratic republic—on this, it seems, all are agreed in our party." Stalin spoke not of what the revolution begins with, but of what it ends with, and he limited it in advance and quite categorically to "only the democratic republic." We would seek in vain in his writings for even a hint of any perspective of a socialist revolution in connection with a democratic overturn. This remained his position even at the beginning of the February revolution in 1917,<sup>60</sup> up to Lenin's arrival in Petersburg.

For Plekhanov, Axelrod, and the leaders of Menshevism in general,<sup>61</sup> the sociological characterization of the revolu-

tion as bourgeois was valuable politically above all because in advance it prohibited provoking the bourgeoisie by the specter of socialism and "repelling" it into the camp of reaction. "The social relations of Russia have ripened only for the bourgeois revolution," said the chief tactician of Menshevism, Axelrod, at the Unity Congress [April 1906]. "In the face of the universal deprivation of political rights in our country there cannot even be talk of a direct battle between the proletariat and other classes for political power. . . . The proletariat is fighting for conditions of bourgeois development. The objective historical conditions make it the destiny of our proletariat to inescapably collaborate with the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the common enemy." The content of the Russian revolution was therewith limited in advance to those transformations which are compatible with the interests and views of the liberal bourgeoisie.

It is precisely at this point that the basic disagreement between the two factions begins. Bolshevism absolutely refused to recognize that the Russian bourgeoisie was capable of leading its own revolution to the end. With infinitely greater power and consistency than Plekhanov, Lenin advanced the agrarian question as the central problem of the democratic overturn in Russia. "The crux of the Russian revolution," he repeated, "is the agrarian (land) question. Conclusions concerning the defeat or victory of the revolution must be based . . . on the calculation of the condition of the masses in the struggle for land." Together with Plekhanov, Lenin viewed the peasantry as a petty-bourgeois class; the peasant land program as a program of bourgeois progress. "Nationalization is a bourgeois measure," he insisted at the Unity Congress. "It will give an impulse to the development of capitalism; it will sharpen the class struggle, strengthen the mobilization of the land, cause an influx of capital into agriculture, lower the price of grain." Notwithstanding the indubitable bourgeois character of the agrarian revolution the Russian bourgeoisie remains, however, hostile to the expropriation of landed estates and precisely for this reason strives toward a compromise with the monarchy on the basis of a constitution on the Prussian pattern. To Plekhanov's idea of an alliance between the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie Lenin counterposed the idea of an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. The task of the revolutionary collaboration of these two classes he proclaimed to be the establishment of a "democratic dictatorship," as the only means of radically cleansing Russia of feudal rubbish, of creating a free farmers' system and clearing the

road for the development of capitalism along American and not Prussian lines.

The victory of the revolution, he wrote, can be crowned "only by a dictatorship because the accomplishment of transformations immediately and urgently needed by the proletariat and the peasantry will evoke the desperate resistance of the landlords, the big bourgeoisie, and czarism. Without the dictatorship it will be impossible to break this resistance, and repel the counterrevolutionary attempts. But this will of course be not a socialist but a democratic dictatorship. It will not be able to touch (without a whole series of transitional stages of revolutionary development) the foundations of capitalism. It will be able, in the best case, to realize a radical redivision of landed property in favor of the peasantry, introduce a consistent and full democratism up to instituting the republic, root out all Asiatic and feudal features not only from the day-to-day life of the village but also of the factory, put a beginning to a serious improvement of workers' conditions and raise their living standard, and last but not least, carry over the revolutionary conflagration to Europe."

Lenin's conception represented an enormous step forward insofar as it proceeded not from constitutional reforms but from the agrarian overturn as the central task of the revolution and singled out the only realistic combination of social forces for its accomplishment. The weak point of Lenin's conception, however, was the internally contradictory idea of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." Lenin himself underscored the fundamental limitation of this "dictatorship" when he openly called it *bourgeois*. By this he meant to say that for the sake of preserving its alliance with the peasantry the proletariat would in the coming revolution have to forego the direct posing of the socialist tasks. But this would signify the renunciation by the proletariat of its own dictatorship. Consequently, the gist of the matter involved the dictatorship of the peasantry even if with the participation of the workers.

On certain occasions Lenin said just this. For example, at the Stockholm Conference [April 1906] in refuting Plekhanov, who came out against the "utopia" of the seizure of power, Lenin said: "What program is under discussion? The agrarian. Who is assumed to seize power under this program? The revolutionary peasantry. Is Lenin mixing up the power of the proletariat with this peasantry?" No, he says referring to himself: Lenin sharply differentiates the socialist power of the proletariat from the bourgeois democratic power of the peas-

antry. "But how," he exclaims again, "is a victorious peasant revolution possible without the seizure of power by the revolutionary peasantry?" In this polemical formula Lenin reveals with special clarity the vulnerability of his position.

The peasantry is dispersed over the surface of an enormous country whose key junctions are the cities. The peasantry itself is incapable of even formulating its own interests inasmuch as in each district these appear differently. The economic link between the provinces is created by the market and the railways, but both the market and the railways are in the hands of the cities. In seeking to tear itself away from the restrictions of the village and to generalize its own interests, the peasantry inescapably falls into political dependence upon the city. Finally, the peasantry is heterogeneous in its social relations as well: the kulak stratum [rich peasants] naturally seeks to swing it to an alliance with the urban bourgeoisie while the nether strata of the village pull to the side of the urban workers. Under these conditions the peasantry as such is completely incapable of conquering power.

True enough, in ancient China, revolutions placed the peasantry in power or, more precisely, placed the military leaders of peasant uprisings in power. This led each time to a redivision of the land and the establishment of a new "peasant" dynasty, whereupon history would begin from the beginning; with a new concentration of land, a new aristocracy, a new system of usury, and a new uprising. So long as the revolution preserves its purely peasant character society is incapable of emerging from these hopeless and vicious circles. This was the basis of ancient Asiatic history, including ancient Russian history. In Europe beginning with the close of the Middle Ages each victorious peasant uprising placed in power not a peasant government but a left urban party. To put it more precisely, a peasant uprising turned out victorious exactly to the degree to which it succeeded in strengthening the position of the revolutionary section of the urban population. In bourgeois Russia of the twentieth century there could not even be talk of the seizure of power by the revolutionary peasantry.

The attitude toward the liberal bourgeoisie was, as has been said, the touchstone of the differentiation between revolutionists and opportunists in the ranks of the social democrats. How far could the Russian revolution go? What would be the character of the future revolutionary provisional government? What tasks would confront it? And in what order? These questions with all their importance could be correctly posed only

on the basis of the fundamental character of the policy of the proletariat, and the character of this policy was in turn determined first of all by the attitude toward the liberal bourgeoisie. Plekhanov obviously and stubbornly shut his eyes to the fundamental conclusion of the political history of the nineteenth century: whenever the proletariat comes forward as an independent force the bourgeoisie shifts over to the camp of the counterrevolution. The more audacious the mass struggle all the swifter is the reactionary degeneration of liberalism. No one has yet invented a means for paralyzing the effects of the law of the class struggle.

"We must cherish the support of nonproletarian parties," repeated Plekhanov during the years of the first revolution, "and not repel them from us by tactless actions." By monotonous preachments of this sort the philosopher of Marxism indicated that the living dynamic of society was unattainable to him. "Tactlessness" can repel an individual sensitive intellectual. Classes and parties are attracted or repelled by social interests. "It can be stated with certainty," replied Lenin to Plekhanov, "that the liberals and landlords will forgive you millions of 'tactless acts' but will not forgive you a summons to take away the land." And not only the landlords. The tops of the bourgeoisie are bound up with the landowners by the unity of property interests, and more narrowly by the system of banks. The tops of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia are materially and morally dependent upon the big and middle proprietors—they are all afraid of the independent mass movement. Meanwhile, in order to overthrow czarism it was necessary to rouse tens upon tens of millions of oppressed to a heroic, self-renouncing, unfettered revolutionary assault that would halt at nothing. The masses can rise to an insurrection only under the banner of their own interests and consequently in the spirit of irreconcilable hostility toward the exploiting classes beginning with the landlords. The "repulsion" of the oppositional bourgeoisie away from the revolutionary workers and peasants was therefore the immanent law of the revolution itself and could not be avoided by means of diplomacy or "tact."

Each additional month confirmed the Leninist appraisal of liberalism. Contrary to the best hopes of the Mensheviks, the Cadets not only did not prepare to take their place at the head of the "bourgeois" revolution,<sup>62</sup> but on the contrary they found their historical mission more and more in the struggle against it.

After the crushing of the December uprising,<sup>63</sup> the liberals,

who occupied the political limelight thanks to the ephemeral Duma, sought with all their might to justify themselves before the monarchy and explain away their insufficiently active counterrevolutionary conduct in the autumn of 1905 when danger threatened the most sacred props of "culture." The leader of the liberals, Miliukov,<sup>64</sup> who conducted the behind-the-scenes negotiations with the Winter Palace, quite correctly proved in the press that at the end of 1905 the Cadets could not even show themselves before the masses. "Those who now chide the (Cadet) party," he wrote, "because it did not protest at the time by arranging meetings against the revolutionary illusions of Trotskyism . . . simply do not understand or do not remember the moods prevailing at the time among the democratic public gatherings at meetings." By the "illusions of Trotskyism" the liberal leader understood the independent policy of the proletariat which attracted to the soviets the sympathies of the nethermost layers in the cities, of the soldiers, peasants, and all the oppressed, and which owing to this repelled the "educated society." The evolution of the Mensheviks unfolded along parallel lines. They had to justify themselves more and more frequently before the liberals, because they had turned out in a bloc with Trotsky after October 1905. The explanations of Martov, the talented publicist of the Mensheviks, came down to this, that it was necessary to make concessions to the "revolutionary illusions" of the masses.

In Tiflis the political groupings took shape on the same principled basis as in Petersburg. "To smash reaction," wrote the leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks, Zhordanya,<sup>65</sup> "to conquer and carry through the constitution—this will depend upon the conscious unification and the striving for a single goal on the part of the forces of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. . . . It is true that the peasantry will be drawn into the movement, investing it with an elemental character, but the decisive role will nevertheless be played by these two classes while the peasant movement will add grist to their mill." Lenin mocked at the fears of Zhordanya that an irreconcilable policy toward the bourgeoisie would doom the workers to impotence. Zhordanya "discusses the question of the possible isolation of the proletariat in a democratic overturn and forgets . . . about the peasantry! Of all the possible allies of the proletariat he knows and is enamored of the landlord-liberals. And he does not know the peasants. And this in the Caucasus!"

The refutations of Lenin while correct in essence simplify the problem on one point. Zhordanya did not "forget" about the peasantry and, as may be gathered from the hint of Lenin

himself, could not have possibly forgotten about it in the Caucasus where the peasantry was stormily rising at the time under the banner of the Mensheviks. Zhordanya saw in the peasantry, however, not so much a political ally as a historical battering ram which could and should be utilized by the bourgeoisie in alliance with the proletariat. He did not believe that the peasantry was capable of becoming a leading or even an independent force in the revolution and in this he was not wrong; but he also did not believe that the proletariat was capable of leading the peasant uprising to victory—and in this was his fatal mistake.

The Menshevik idea of the alliance of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie actually signified the subjection to the liberals of both the workers and the peasants. The reactionary utopianism of this program was determined by the fact that the far advanced dismemberment of the classes paralyzed the bourgeoisie in advance as a revolutionary factor. In this fundamental question the right was wholly on the side of Bolshevism: the chase after an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie would inescapably counterpose the social democracy to the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. In 1905 the Mensheviks still lacked courage to draw all the necessary conclusions from their theory of the "bourgeois" revolution. In 1917 they drew their ideas to their logical conclusion and broke their heads.

On the question of the attitude to the liberals Stalin stood during the years of the first revolution on Lenin's side. It must be stated that during this period even the majority of the rank-and-file Mensheviks were closer to Lenin than to Plekhanov on issues touching the oppositional bourgeoisie. A contemptuous attitude to the liberals was the literary tradition of intellectual radicalism. One would however labor in vain to seek from Koba [Stalin] an independent contribution on this question, an analysis of the Caucasian social relations, new arguments or even a new formulation of old arguments. The leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks, Zhordanya, was far more independent in relation to Plekhanov than Stalin was in relation to Lenin. "In vain the Messrs. Liberals seek," wrote Koba after January 9, "to save the tottering throne of the czar. In vain are they extending to the czar the hand of assistance! . . . The aroused popular masses are preparing for the revolution and not for reconciliation with the czar. . . . Yes, gentlemen, in vain are your efforts. The Russian revolution is inevitable and it is as inevitable as the inevitable rising of the sun! Can you stop the rising sun? That is the

question!" And so forth and so on. Higher than this Koba did not rise. Two and a half years later, in repeating Lenin almost literally, he wrote: "The Russian liberal bourgeoisie is antirevolutionary. It cannot be the motive force, nor, all the less so, the leader of the revolution. It is the sworn enemy of the revolution and a stubborn struggle must be waged against it." However, it was precisely in this fundamental question that Stalin was to undergo a complete metamorphosis in the next ten years and was to meet the February revolution of 1917 already as a partisan of a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie and, in accordance with this, as a champion of uniting with the Mensheviks into one party. Only Lenin on arriving from abroad put an abrupt end to the independent policy of Stalin, which he called a mockery of Marxism.

The Narodniks saw in the workers and peasants simply "toilers" and "the exploited" who are all equally interested in socialism. Marxists regarded the peasant as a petty bourgeois who is capable of becoming a socialist only to the extent to which he ceases materially or spiritually to be a peasant. With the sentimentalism peculiar to them, the Narodniks perceived in this sociological characterization a moral slur against the peasantry. Along this line occurred for two generations the main struggle between the revolutionary tendencies of Russia. To understand the future disputes between Stalinism and Trotskyism it is necessary once again to emphasize that, in accordance with the entire tradition of Marxism, Lenin never for a moment regarded the peasantry as a socialist ally of the proletariat. On the contrary, the impossibility of the socialist revolution in Russia was deduced by him precisely from the colossal preponderance of the peasantry. This idea runs through all his articles which touch directly or indirectly upon the agrarian question.

"We support the peasant movement," wrote Lenin in September 1905, "to the extent that it is a revolutionary democratic movement. We are preparing (right now, and immediately) for a struggle with it to the extent that it will come forward as a reactionary, antiproletarian movement. The entire gist of Marxism lies in this twofold task. . . ." Lenin saw the socialist ally in the Western proletariat and partly in the semi-proletarian elements in the Russian village but never in the peasantry as such. "From the beginning we support to the very end, by means of all measures, up to confiscation," he repeated with the insistence peculiar to him, "the peasant in general against the landlord, and later (and not even later but at the very same time) we support the proletariat against the peasant in general."

"The peasantry will conquer in the bourgeois democratic revolution," he wrote in March 1906, "and with this it will completely exhaust its revolutionary spirit as the peasantry. The proletariat will conquer in the bourgeois democratic revolution and with this it will only unfold in a real way its genuine socialist revolutionary spirit" "The movement of the peasantry," he repeated in May of the same year, "is the movement of a different class. This is a struggle not against the foundations of capitalism but for purging all the remnants of feudalism." This viewpoint can be followed in Lenin from one article to the next, year by year, volume by volume. The language and examples vary, the basic thought remains the same. It could not have been otherwise. Had Lenin seen a *socialist* ally in the peasantry he would not have had the slightest ground for insisting upon the *bourgeois* character of the revolution and for limiting "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" to purely democratic tasks. In those cases where Lenin accused the author of this book of "underestimating" the peasantry he had in mind not at all my non-recognition of the socialist tendencies of the peasantry but, on the contrary, my inadequate—from Lenin's viewpoint—recognition of the bourgeois democratic independence of the peasantry, its ability to create its *own* power and thereby prevent the establishment of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat.

The re-evaluation of values on this question was opened up only in the years of Thermidorean reaction, the beginning of which coincided approximately with the illness and death of Lenin. Thenceforth the alliance of Russian workers and peasants was proclaimed to be, in and of itself, a sufficient guarantee against the dangers of restoration and an immutable pledge of the realization of socialism within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Replacing the theory of international revolution by the theory of socialism in one country Stalin began to designate the Marxist evaluation of the peasantry not otherwise than as "Trotskyism" and, moreover, not only in relation to the present but to the entire past.

It is, of course, possible to raise the question whether or not the classic Marxist view of the peasantry has been proven erroneous. This subject would lead us far beyond the limits of the present review. Suffice it to state here that Marxism has never invested its estimation of the peasantry as a non-socialist class with an absolute and static character. Marx himself said that the peasant possesses not only superstitions but the ability to reason. In changing conditions the nature of the peasant himself changes. The regime of the dictatorship

of the proletariat opened up very broad possibilities for influencing the peasantry and re-educating it.<sup>66</sup> The limits of these possibilities have not yet been exhausted by history.

Nevertheless, it is now already clear that the growing role of the state coercion in the USSR has not refuted but has confirmed fundamentally the attitude toward the peasantry which distinguished Russian Marxists from the Narodniks. However, whatever may be the situation in this respect today after twenty years of the new regime, it remains indubitable that up to the October Revolution, or more correctly up to 1924, no one in the Marxist camp — Lenin, least of all — saw in the peasantry a socialist factor of development. Without the aid of the proletarian revolution in the West, Lenin repeated, restoration in Russia was inevitable. He was not mistaken: the Stalinist bureaucracy is nothing else than the first phase of bourgeois restoration.

We have analyzed above the points of departure of the two basic factions of the Russian Social Democracy. But alongside of them, already at the dawn of the first revolution, was formulated a third position which met with almost no recognition during those years but which we are obliged to set down here with the necessary completeness not only because it found its confirmation in the events of 1917 but especially because seven years after the October Revolution, this conception, after being turned topsy-turvy, began to play a completely unforeseen role in the political evolution of Stalin and the whole Soviet bureaucracy.

At the beginning of 1905 a pamphlet by Trotsky was issued in Geneva. This pamphlet analyzed the political situation as it unfolded in the winter of 1904. The author arrived at the conclusion that the independent campaign of petitions and banquets by the liberals had exhausted all its possibilities; that the radical intelligentsia who had pinned their hopes upon the liberals had arrived in a blind alley together with the latter; that the peasant movement was creating favorable conditions for victory but was incapable of assuring it; that a decision could be reached only through the armed uprising of the proletariat; that the next phase on this path would be the general strike. The pamphlet was entitled *Before the Ninth of January*, because it was written before the Bloody Sunday in Petersburg.<sup>67</sup> The mighty strike wave which came after this date together with the initial armed clashes which supplemented this strike wave were an unequivocal confirmation of the strategic prognosis of this pamphlet.

The introduction to my work was written by Parvus, a Rus-

sian emigre, who had succeeded by that time in becoming a prominent German writer.<sup>68</sup> Parvus was an exceptional creative personality capable of becoming infected with the ideas of others as well as of enriching others by his ideas. He lacked internal equilibrium and sufficient love for work to give the labor movement the contribution worthy of his talents as thinker and writer. On my personal development he exercised undoubtedly influence especially in regard to the social-revolutionary understanding of our epoch. A few years prior to our first meeting Parvus passionately defended the idea of a general strike in Germany; but the country was then passing through a prolonged industrial boom, the Social Democracy had adapted itself to the regime of the Hohenzollerns;<sup>69</sup> the revolutionary propaganda of a foreigner met with nothing except ironical indifference. On becoming acquainted on the second day after the bloody events in Petersburg with my pamphlet, then in manuscript, Parvus was captured by the idea of the exceptional role which the proletariat of backward Russia was destined to play.

Those few days which we spent together in Munich were filled with conversations which clarified a good deal for both of us and which brought us personally closer together. The introduction which Parvus wrote at the time for the pamphlet has entered firmly into the history of the Russian revolution. In a few pages he illuminated those social peculiarities of belated Russia which were, it is true, known previously but from which no one had drawn all the necessary conclusions.

"The political radicalism of Western Europe [wrote Parvus] was, as is well known, based primarily on the petty bourgeoisie. These were the handicraft workers and, in general, that section of the bourgeoisie which had been caught up by the industrial development but was at the same time pushed aside by the capitalist class. . . . In Russia, during the pre-capitalist period, the cities developed more along Chinese than European lines. These were administrative centers, purely functionary in character, without the slightest political significance, while in terms of economic relations they served as trading centers, bazaars, for the surrounding landlord and peasant milieu. Their development was still very insignificant when it was halted by the capitalist process which began to create big cities after its own pattern, i.e., factory cities and centers of world trade. . . . The very same thing that hindered the development of petty-bourgeois democracy served to benefit the class consciousness of the proletariat in Russia, namely, the weak development of the handicraft form of production.

The proletariat was immediately concentrated in the factories. . . .

"The peasants will be drawn into the movement in ever larger masses. But they are capable only of increasing the political anarchy in the country and, in this way, of weakening the government; they cannot compose a tightly welded revolutionary army. With the development of the revolution, therefore, an ever greater amount of political work will fall to the share of the proletariat. Along with this, its political self-consciousness will broaden, its political energy will grow. . . .

"The Social Democracy will be confronted with the dilemma: either to assume the responsibility for the provisional government or to stand aside from the workers' movement. The workers will consider this government as their own regardless of how the Social Democracy conducts itself. . . . The revolutionary overturn in Russia can be accomplished only by the workers. The revolutionary provisional government in Russia will be the government of a *workers' democracy*. If the Social Democracy heads the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat, then this government will be Social Democratic. . . .

"The Social Democratic provisional government will not be able to accomplish a socialist overturn in Russia, but the very process of liquidating the autocracy and of establishing the democratic republic will provide it with a rich soil for political work."

In the heat of the revolutionary events in the autumn of 1905, I once again met Parvus, this time in Petersburg. While preserving an organizational independence from both factions, we jointly edited a mass workers' paper, *Russkoye Slovo* [Russian Word], and, in a coalition with the Mensheviks, a big political newspaper, *Nachalo* [Beginning]. The theory of the permanent revolution has usually been linked with the names of "Parvus and Trotsky." This was only partially correct. The period of Parvus's revolutionary apogee belongs to the end of the last century when he marched at the head of the struggle against the so-called "revisionism," i.e., the opportunist distortion of Marx's theory. The failure of the attempts to push the German Social Democracy on the path of more resolute policies undermined his optimism. Toward the perspective of the socialist revolution in the West, Parvus began to react with more and more reservations. He considered at that time that the "Social Democratic provisional government will not be able to accomplish a socialist overturn in Russia." His prognoses indicated, therefore, not the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution but only the es-

tabishment in Russia of a regime of workers' democracy of the Australian type, where on the basis of a farmers' system there arose for the first time a labor government which did not go beyond the framework of a bourgeois regime.

This conclusion was not shared by me. The Australian democracy grew organically from the virgin soil of a new continent and at once assumed a conservative character and subjected to itself a young but quite privileged proletariat. Russian democracy, on the contrary, could arise only as a result of a grandiose revolutionary overturn, the dynamics of which would in no case permit the workers' government to remain within the framework of bourgeois democracy. Our differences, which began shortly after the revolution of 1905, resulted in a complete break between us at the beginning of the war when Parvus, in whom the skeptic had completely killed the revolutionist, turned out on the side of German imperialism, and later became the counsellor and inspirer of the first president of the German republic, Ebert.<sup>70</sup>

Beginning with the pamphlet *Before the Ninth of January*, I returned more than once to the development and justification of the theory of the permanent revolution. In view of the importance which this theory later acquired in the ideological evolution of the hero of this biography, it is necessary to present it here in the form of exact quotations from my works in 1905-6.

"The core of the population of a modern city, at least in cities of economic-political significance, is constituted by the sharply differentiated class of wage labor. It is precisely this class, essentially unknown during the Great French Revolution, that is destined to play the decisive role in our revolution. . . . In a country economically more backward, the proletariat may come to power sooner than in an advanced capitalist country. The assumption of some sort of automatic dependence of proletarian dictatorship upon the technical forces and resources of a country is a prejudice derived from an extremely oversimplified 'economic' materialism. Such a view has nothing in common with Marxism. . . . Notwithstanding that the productive forces of industry in the United States are ten times higher than ours, the political role of the Russian proletariat, its influence upon the politics of the country, and the possibility of its coming influence upon world politics is incomparably higher than the role and significance of the American proletariat. . . .

"The Russian revolution, according to our view, will create conditions in which the power may (and with the victory of the

revolution *must*) pass into the hands of the proletariat before the politicians of bourgeois liberalism get a chance to develop their statesmanly genius to the full. . . . The Russian bourgeoisie is surrendering all the revolutionary positions to the proletariat. It will have to surrender likewise the revolutionary leadership of the peasantry. The proletariat in power will appear to the peasantry as an emancipator class. . . . The proletariat basing itself on the peasantry will bring all its forces into play to raise the cultural level of the village and develop a political consciousness in the peasantry. . . . But perhaps the peasantry itself will crowd the proletariat and occupy its place? This is impossible. All the experience of history protests against this assumption. It shows that the peasantry is completely incapable of playing an *independent* political role. . . . From what has been said it is clear how we regard the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.' The gist of the matter is not whether we consider it admissible in principle, whether we find this form of political cooperation 'desirable' or 'undesirable.' We consider it unrealizable—at least in the direct and immediate sense. . . ."

The foregoing already demonstrates how erroneous is the assertion, later endlessly repeated, that the conception presented here "leaped over the bourgeois revolution." "The struggle for the democratic renovation of Russia," I wrote at that time, "has wholly grown out of capitalism and is being conducted by the forces unfolding on the basis of capitalism and is being aimed *directly and first of all* against the feudal-serf obstacles on the path of the development of capitalist society." The question, however, was: Just what forces and methods are capable of removing these obstacles? "We may set a bound to all the questions of the revolution by asserting that our revolution is *bourgeois* in its objective aims, and therefore in its inevitable results, and we may thus shut our eyes to the fact that the chief agent of this bourgeois revolution is the proletariat, and the proletariat will be pushed toward power by the whole course of the revolution. . . . You may lull yourself with the thought that the social conditions of Russia are not yet ripe for a socialist economy—and therewith you may neglect to consider the fact that the proletariat, once in power, will inevitably be compelled by the whole logic of its situation to introduce an economy operated by the state. . . . Entering the government not as impotent hostages but as a ruling power, the representatives of the proletariat will by this very act destroy the boundary between minimum and maximum program, i.e., *place collectivism on the order of the day*. At what

point the proletariat will be stopped in this direction will depend on the relationship of forces, but not at all upon the original intentions of the party of the proletariat. . . .

"But it is not too early now to pose the question: Must this dictatorship of the proletariat inevitably be shattered against the framework of the bourgeois revolution? Or may it not, upon the given *world-historic* foundations, open before itself the prospect of victory to be achieved by shattering this limited framework? . . . One thing can be stated with certainty: Without direct state support from the European proletariat the working class of Russia cannot remain in power and cannot convert its temporary rule into a prolonged socialist dictatorship. . . ." From this, however, does not at all flow a pessimistic prognosis: "The political emancipation led by the working class of Russia raises this leader to unprecedented historical heights, transfers into its hands colossal forces and resources, and makes it the initiator of the world liquidation of capitalism, for which history has created all the necessary objective prerequisites. . . ."

In regard to the degree to which the international social democracy will prove able to fulfill its revolutionary task, I wrote in 1906:

"The European socialist parties—above all, the mightiest among them, the German party—have each worked out their own conservatism. As greater and greater masses rally to socialism and as the organization and discipline of these masses grow, this conservatism likewise increases. Because of this the social democracy, as an organization embodying the political experience of the proletariat, may become at a certain moment a direct obstacle in the path of the open conflict between the workers and bourgeois reaction. . . ." I concluded my analysis, however, by expressing assurance that the "Eastern revolution will imbue the Western proletariat with revolutionary idealism and engender in it the desire to speak to its enemy 'in Russian'. . . ."

Let us sum up. Narodnikism, in the wake of the Slavophiles, proceeded from illusions concerning the absolutely original paths of Russia's development, and waved aside capitalism and the bourgeois republic. Plekhanov's Marxism was concentrated on proving the principled identity of the historical paths of Russia and of the West. The program derived from this ignored the wholly real and not at all mystical peculiarities of Russia's social structure and of her revolutionary development. The Menshevik attitude toward the revolution, stripped

of episodic encrustations and individual deviations, is reducible to the following: The victory of the Russian bourgeois revolution is conceivable only under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie and must hand over power to the latter. The democratic regime will then permit the Russian proletariat to catch up with its older Western brothers on the road of the struggle for socialism with incomparably greater success than hitherto.

Lenin's perspective may be briefly expressed as follows: The belated Russian bourgeoisie is incapable of leading its own revolution to the end. The complete victory of the revolution through the medium of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" will purge the country of medievalism, invest the development of Russian capitalism with American tempos, strengthen the proletariat in the city and country, and open up broad possibilities for the struggle for socialism. On the other hand, the victory of the Russian revolution will provide a mighty impulse for the socialist revolution in the West, and the latter will not only shield Russia from the dangers of restoration but also permit the Russian proletariat to reach the conquest of power in a comparatively short historical interval.

The perspective of the permanent revolution may be summed up in these words: The complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is inconceivable otherwise than in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat basing itself on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which will inescapably place on the order of the day not only democratic but also socialist tasks, will at the same time provide a mighty impulse to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West will shield Russia from bourgeois restoration and secure for her the possibility of bringing the socialist construction to its conclusion.

These terse formulations reveal with equal clarity both the homogeneity of the last two conceptions in their irreconcilable contradiction with the liberal-Menshevist perspective as well as their extremely essential difference from one another on the question of the social character and the tasks of the "dictatorship" which was to grow out of the revolution. The frequently repeated objection of the present Moscow theoreticians to the effect that the program of the dictatorship of the proletariat was "premature" in 1905 is entirely lacking in content. In the empirical sense the program of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry proved to be equally "premature." The unfavorable relation of forces in the epoch of the first revolution rendered impossible not the dictatorship

of the proletariat as such but, in general, the victory of the revolution itself. Meanwhile all the revolutionary tendencies proceeded from the hopes for a complete victory; without such a hope an unfettered revolutionary struggle would be impossible. The differences involved the general perspectives of the revolution and the strategy flowing therefrom. The perspective of Menshevism was false to the core: it pointed out an entirely different road for the proletariat. The perspective of Bolshevism was not complete: it indicated correctly the general direction of the struggle but characterized its stages incorrectly. The inadequacy of the perspective of Bolshevism was not revealed in 1905 only because the revolution itself did not receive further development. But at the beginning of 1917 Lenin was compelled, in a direct struggle against the oldest cadres of the party, to change the perspective.

A political prognosis cannot pretend to the same exactness as an astronomical one. It suffices if it gives a correct indication of the general line of development and helps to orient oneself in the actual course of events in which the basic line is inevitably shifted either to the right or to the left. In this sense it is impossible not to recognize that the conception of the permanent revolution has fully passed the test of history. In the first years of the Soviet regime this was denied by none; on the contrary, this fact met with recognition in a number of official publications. But when on the quiescent and ossified summits of Soviet society the bureaucratic reaction against October opened up, it was from the very beginning directed against this theory which more completely than any other reflected the first proletarian revolution in history and at the same time clearly revealed its incomplete, limited and partial character. Thus, by way of repulsion, originated the theory of socialism in one country, the basic dogma of Stalinism.

# DEMOCRATIC FEUDALISTS AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UKRAINE<sup>71</sup>

August 5, 1939

In Kerensky's<sup>72</sup> periodical, *Novaya Rossia* [New Russia], for July 12, 1939, my article on the independence of the Ukraine ["The Ukrainian Question," April 22, 1939] is subjected to a "criticism" of its own kind. From the standpoint of socialist, scientific, literary, etc., criteria, *Novaya Rossia* is of course of no interest at all. But it possesses this merit, that it enables one to peer into the heads of the Russian middle and petty-bourgeois democrats. Scratch any of them hard enough and you will find a feudalist.

The periodical fumes over the fact that I wholeheartedly and completely stand for the support of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for national and state independence. "The separation of the Soviet Ukraine from the USSR doesn't embarrass L. Trotsky at all." Absolutely so! As regards Messrs. Democrats, they are not only embarrassed but deeply roused by the prospect of the separation of the Ukraine. The democratic urge of an oppressed nationality to gain its complete independence cannot fail to arouse the ire of feudalists. "The question of how this revolution (the national Ukrainian revolution) will be utilized by Hitler for the realization of his plans is not touched by Trotsky." The gentlemen of *Novaya Rossia* consider that "the separation of the Ukraine will lead to the military weakening of the USSR," and they come very close to the conclusion that Trotsky's politics serve Hitler. The same opinion is held also by the Kremlin. Great minds run in the same gutter, reads a French proverb.

Let us grant that the separation of the Ukraine does actually weaken the USSR. What to do then with the democratic principle of the self-determination of nations? Every state which forcibly retains within its boundaries some other nationality considers that the separation of the latter would weaken the state in economic and military spheres. Hitler annexed the Czechs and semi-annexed Slovakia precisely because this leads to the military strengthening of Germany. Wherein does the criterion of our democrats differ from the criterion of Hitler? As regards the nation of the Ukrainians, the democrats of *Novaya Rossia* following the not-uncelebrated democrat Miliukov are perhaps ready to answer to this question that the Ukrainians are "by and large and in general" in all likelihood a nation, but after

all there are limits. In other words, if they are a nation, it is a second-class one inasmuch as the fate of the Ukraine must be determined by the interests of Russia, i.e., the Great Russian majority. And this is precisely the viewpoint of the chauvinistic feudalists.

In the sad and sorry days of the February revolution, the Provisional Government brazenly refused to extend to the Ukrainians not only independence—the Ukrainians did not demand this at that time as yet—but also mere autonomy. Messrs. Democrats haggled over the national rights of the Ukraine like horsetraders. They then took as their direct and immediate point of departure the interests of the old Great Russian "masters" of the landlord, bourgeois, and democratic type. Today they are translating the very same great and glorious tradition into the language of the emigres.

From a much higher historical standpoint, namely from the standpoint of the socialist revolution, it would be quite possible to subordinate for a certain period of time the national interests of the Ukraine to the interests of the international proletariat if they came into conflict with one another. But there is no sign even of such a conflict. The Ukraine is being strangled by the very same Bonapartist reaction that strangles the whole of the USSR, and undermines its capacity for self-defense. The Ukrainian revolutionary movement aimed against the Bonapartist bureaucracy is the direct ally of the international revolutionary proletariat.

The farsighted democratic feudalists are very much concerned lest Hitler utilize some time in the future the national Ukrainian revolution. They close their eyes to the fact that Hitler already today is utilizing the suppression and the dismemberment of the Ukrainian nation.

In contrast to Messrs. Democrats of the Menshevik and Narodnik variety, we do not at all proceed from the consideration that there is no beast more powerful than the cat. Hitler's strength in general, and in relation to the Ukraine in particular, lies not in himself but in the worthlessness and rottenness of democracy, in the decomposition of the Second and Third Internationals, in the vast wave of disillusion, decline, and apathy among the masses. The triumphant revolutionary movement in any country will sound the knell for Hitler. The national revolutionary Ukrainian movement is an integral part of the mighty revolutionary wave which is now being molecularly prepared underneath the crust of triumphant reaction. That is why we say: Long Live the Independent Soviet Ukraine!

# STALIN—HITLER'S QUARTERMASTER<sup>73</sup>

September 2, 1939

For twenty years the mainspring of German imperialism remained tightly wedged. When this spring began to expand, the diplomatic chancelleries were disconcerted. The prolonged and sterile negotiations between London-Paris and Moscow, following Munich, constituted the second stage of their discomposure. From 1933 on I declared continually in the world press that the fundamental aim of Stalin's foreign policy was the reaching of an agreement with Hitler. But my voice was too modest to convince the masters of fate. Stalin staged his low comedy, "the struggle for democracy," and this comedy was believed, at least in part. Almost until the last day, Augur, semi-official London correspondent of the *New York Times*, repeated his assurances that an agreement with Moscow would be reached. Painfully instructive is the fact that the Stalinist parliament ratified the German-Soviet pact on the very day that Germany invaded Poland!<sup>74</sup>

The general cause of war lies in the irreconcilable contradictions of world imperialism. The particular percussion, however, which opened up military operations was the concluding of the Soviet-German pact. During the preceding months, Goebbels,<sup>75</sup> Foerster, and the other German politicians persistently repeated that the "day" for decisive action would soon arrive. It is inescapably clear now that this day was the one on which Molotov affixed his signature to the German-Soviet pact.<sup>76</sup> No power can erase this from the annals of history!

It is not at all that the Kremlin feels closer to the totalitarian states than to the democratic. This does not determine the choice of orientation in international affairs. Despite all his aversion for the Soviet regime, the conservative parliamentarian Chamberlain tried with all his might to gain an alliance with Stalin. The alliance was not realized because Stalin fears Hitler. And it is not by accident that he fears him. The Red Army is decapitated. This is not phraseology but a tragic fact. Voroshilov is a fabrication.<sup>77</sup> His authority is created artificially through totalitarian propaganda. On his dizzy pinnacle he remains what he always was, a hidebound backwoodsman, with-

out vision, without culture, without military ability, and even without talent as an administrator. The whole country knows that. In the "purged" military staff not a single name remains in which the army could place confidence. The Kremlin fears the army and fears Hitler. Stalin requires peace—at any price.

Before Hohenzollern Germany toppled under the blows of the war coalition, it dealt a mortal blow to the czarist regime; furthermore the Western Allies egged on the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and even supported the plans for a palace revolution. The present incumbents of the Kremlin asked themselves anxiously: may not this historical incident repeat itself in a new way? Had the Soviet oligarchy been capable of self-sacrifice or at least the slightest degree of self-denial in the military interests of the USSR, it would not have decapitated and demoralized the army.

The simpletons who are "pro-Soviet" deem it self-evident that the Kremlin hopes to overthrow Hitler. The case is otherwise. Without revolution the overthrow of Hitler is inconceivable. A victorious revolution in Germany would raise the class-consciousness of the broad masses in the USSR to a very high level and render impossible the further existence of the Moscow tyranny. The Kremlin prefers the status quo, with Hitler as its ally.

Caught off guard by the pact, the Kremlin's professional apologists now attempt to argue that our former prognoses contemplated an aggressive military alliance between Moscow and Berlin, whereas in reality only a pacifist agreement of "nonaggression" was concluded. Miserable sophistry! We never spoke of an aggressive military alliance in the direct sense of the term. On the contrary, we always started from the fact that the international policy of the Kremlin was determined by the new aristocracy's interests in preserving itself, by its dread of the people, by its incapacity to conduct a war. Any international combination has some value for the Soviet bureaucracy insofar as it liberates it from the necessity of resorting to the force of armed workers and peasants. And yet the German-Russian pact is a military alliance in the full sense of the word, for it serves the aims of aggressive imperialist war.

In the last war Germany was defeated primarily because of the lack of raw materials of the USSR. It is not accidental that the concluding of the political pact was preceded by the concluding of a trade agreement. Moscow is far from any thought of renouncing it. On the contrary, in his speech yesterday before the Supreme Council, Molotov stressed above all

the exceptional economic advantages of the friendship with Hitler. The pact of nonaggression, that is, a passive attitude toward German aggression, is thus rounded out by a treaty of economic collaboration in the interest of the aggression. The pact assures Hitler the possibility of utilizing Soviet raw materials exactly as Italy in its attack on Ethiopia utilized Russian oil.<sup>78</sup> While the military experts of England and France in Moscow studied the Baltic map from the point of view of military operations between the USSR and Germany, the German and Soviet experts at the very same time were considering what measures to take in order to safeguard maritime routes in the Baltic sea for continuous trade relations during wartime.

Occupation of Poland will assure contiguous boundaries with the Soviet Union and a further development of economic relations. Such is the essence of the pact. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler declares that an alliance between two states which does not have as its aim the prosecution of war "is absurd and sterile." The German-Soviet pact is neither absurd nor sterile—it is a military alliance with a division of roles: Hitler conducts the military operations, Stalin acts as his quartermaster. And still there are people who seriously assert that the objective of the Kremlin today is world revolution!

With Chicherin as minister of foreign affairs in Lenin's government,<sup>79</sup> Soviet foreign policy considered its real task to be the international triumph of socialism, and sought, incidentally, to utilize the antagonisms among the great powers with the aim of defending the Soviet Republic. With Litvinov, the program of world revolution was supplanted by concern for the maintenance of the status quo through a system of "collective security." But when the idea of "collective security" neared partial realization, the Kremlin became alarmed at the military obligations which were entailed. Litvinov was replaced by Molotov, who knows no obligation other than that of preserving unimpaired the interests of the ruling caste. Chicherin's policy, that is, Lenin's essentially, was long ago decreed a policy of romanticism. For a certain time Litvinov's policy was considered the policy of realism. The policy of Stalin-Molotov is a policy of unadulterated cynicism.

"In a united front of peace-loving nations which are really opposed to aggression the Soviet Union cannot fail to participate in the front ranks," Molotov declared at the Supreme Council three months ago. What appalling irony in those words now! The Soviet Union has taken its place in the rear ranks

of those states which up to yesterday the Kremlin persistently denounced as the aggressors.

The immediate advantages the Kremlin government receives from the alliance with Hitler are quite tangible. The USSR remains out of war. Hitler removes from the immediate agenda his campaign for a "greater Ukraine." Japan remains isolated. With the postponement of the war danger on the Western frontier, one can envisage at the same time, as a consequence, a weakening of the pressure on the Eastern frontier, perhaps even the conclusion of an agreement with Japan. It is quite likely, moreover, that in exchange for Poland, Hitler will give Moscow freedom of action in regard to the Baltic states bordering the USSR. However, though the "advantages" may be great, they are at best of an episodic nature and their sole guarantee is Ribbentrop's signature to a "strap of paper."<sup>80</sup>

Meanwhile the war places questions of life and death on the order of the day for peoples, states, regimes, ruling classes. Germany is carrying out in stages her program of domination by war. With the help of England, she rearmed despite the opposition of France. With the help of Poland she isolated Czechoslovakia. With the help of the Soviet Union she not only wishes to enslave Poland but to destroy the old colonial empires. If Germany succeeds with the Kremlin's help in emerging victorious from the present war, that will signify mortal danger for the Soviet Union. Let us recall that directly after the Munich agreement, Dimitrov, secretary of the Comintern,<sup>81</sup> made public—undoubtedly on Stalin's order—an explicit calendar of Hitler's future conquests. The occupation of Poland is scheduled in that calendar for the fall of 1939. Next in order follow: Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, France, Belgium. . . . And then, at the bottom, in the fall of 1941, the offensive is to begin against the Soviet Union.

These revelations must undoubtedly be based upon information obtained by the Soviet espionage service. It is impossible, of course, to take this blueprint literally—the march of events introduces modifications into all such calculations. Nevertheless, the first link of the plan—occupation of Poland in the fall of 1939—is now being consummated. It is very likely that the brief delay of two years between the destruction of Poland, according to the plan, and the offensive against the Soviet Union is approximately correct. In the Kremlin they cannot help understanding this. It is not for nothing that they have proclaimed many times: "peace is indivisible." If Stalin notwithstanding becomes Hitler's quartermaster, it signifies that the

ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes: "after us the deluge."

It would be a vain task to attempt at this time to predict the course of the war and the fate of its various participants, including those who still cherish the illusory hope of remaining outside of the catastrophe. It is given to no man to survey in its entirety this vast arena and turmoil of infinitely complex material and moral forces. Only the war itself will decide the destiny of the war.

One of the major differences between the present war and the last one is the radio. It is first now that I see this clearly as I listen here in Coyoacan, a suburb of the Mexican capital, to speeches in the Berlin Reichstag and to news dispatches from London, Paris, and New York City. Thanks to the radio, people will depend much less than in the last war on totalitarian news from their own government and they will be infected much more rapidly by the moods of people in other countries. In this sphere the Kremlin has already suffered a great defeat. The Comintern, most important instrument of the Kremlin for influencing public opinion in other countries, is in reality the first victim of the German-Soviet pact. The fate of Poland has not yet been decided. But the Comintern is already a corpse. It is being forsaken from one side by the patriots and from the other by the internationalists. Tomorrow by radio we will undoubtedly hear the voices of the Communist leaders of yesterday revealing, in the interest of their respective governments, in all the languages of the civilized world, including Russian, the treason of the Kremlin.

The disintegration of the Comintern will not fail to deal an irreparable blow to the authority of the ruling caste in the consciousness of the broad masses of the Soviet Union itself. Thus the policy of cynicism which was designed to reinforce the position of the Stalinist oligarchy, will in reality speed the hour of its downfall.

The war will topple many things and many individuals. Artifice, trickery, frame-ups, and treasons will prove of no avail in escaping its severe judgment. But my article would be greatly misunderstood if it led to the conclusion that everything new introduced by the October Revolution into the life of mankind will be cast aside. I am profoundly convinced of the opposite. The new form of economy, freed from the insufferable fetters of the bureaucracy, will not only withstand this test of fire, but also serve as a basis for a new culture which, let us hope, will put an end to war forever.

## THE GERMAN-SOVIET ALLIANCE<sup>82</sup>

September 4, 1939

From many sides I have been asked why I did not express myself sooner on the German-Soviet pact and its consequences. I was prevented by accidental personal circumstances (sickness and a departure from Mexico City to a village). I thought, moreover, the events themselves were so clear that they needed no comment. But it proved to be otherwise: In different countries there are still people—in diminishing numbers, it is true—who have the courage to picture the treason of the Kremlin as an act of political virtue. According to those gentlemen Stalin and Hitler have common ends which they are pursuing with methods of secret diplomacy in the interests of . . . peace and democracy. Is this argument not a repugnant buffoonery?

Since 1933 I have been showing and proving in the world press that Stalin is seeking an understanding with Hitler. In particular, I proved this prognosis in my declarations before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry in Coyoacan in April 1937.<sup>83</sup> Now the cynics in the service of the Kremlin are trying to represent the matter as if their program—"alliance of the democracies" and "collective security"—was corroborated; meanwhile, my prognosis was wrong: I predicted, it is alleged, the conclusion of an *aggressive* military pact, while Stalin and Hitler completed only a pacifist, humanitarian pact of mutual nonaggression (Hitler is, as known, a strict vegetarian). Isn't it all too clear why Hitler started the attack on Poland immediately after the embrace of Ribbentrop and Molotov? Some of the less intelligent defenders of the Kremlin remembered, unexpectedly, (they did not know it before) that Poland is a "semi-fascist state." It seems that under the beneficent influence of Stalin, Hitler started a war against "semi-fascism."

Or perhaps Hitler only imposed upon the childish confidence of Stalin? If that were so, Stalin could have promptly dispelled the delusion. *But in fact the Supreme Soviet immediately ratified the pact at the same moment when the German troops crossed the Polish border.* Stalin knew very well what he was doing.

In order to attack Poland and to conduct a war against

England and France, Hitler needed the friendly "neutrality" of the USSR, plus Soviet raw materials. The political and commercial pacts assure Hitler of both.

At a session of the Supreme Soviet Molotov praised the advantages of a commercial agreement with Germany. There is nothing surprising about it. Germany needs raw materials at any price. When conducting war, expenses are not counted. Usurers, speculators, and marauders always thrive on war. The Kremlin supplied petroleum for the Italian campaign against Ethiopia. In Spain the Kremlin charged a double price for the bad arms which it supplied. Now the Kremlin is expecting to get a good price from Hitler for Soviet raw materials. The lackeys of the Comintern even here are not ashamed to defend the Kremlin's actions. Every honest worker must clench his fist at this policy!

Abasing themselves to the depths of cynicism, the defenders of the Kremlin see the great merit of Stalin in that he is not directly attacking Poland. In this circumstance also they discovered the refutation of my prognosis. But in reality I *never* predicted that Stalin would conclude an *aggressive* pact with Hitler. Stalin above all is afraid of war. His policy of capitulation towards Japan in recent years testifies to this. Stalin cannot make a war with discontented workers and peasants and with a decapitated Red Army. I said it many times in the last years and I repeat it again. The German-Soviet pact is a capitulation of Stalin before fascist imperialism with the end of preserving the Soviet oligarchy.

In all the pacifist masquerades organized by the Comintern, Hitler was proclaimed the chief, if not the only aggressor; on the contrary, Poland was for them an innocent lamb. Now when Hitler passed from words to deeds and started the aggression against Poland, Moscow passed to deeds, too . . . and is helping Hitler. These are the simple facts. It is impossible to escape from them with rotten sophistry.

The defenders of the Kremlin are referring to the fact that Poland refused to permit the Soviet Army to enter its territory. We do not know the course of the secret negotiations. We may admit that Poland incorrectly appraised its own interests when it refused the direct help of the Red Army. But does the right of the Kremlin to help Germany's invasion of Poland follow from the Polish refusal to permit foreign armies on her territory?

The Kremlin's advocates refer finally to the fact that the

German-Soviet pact broke up the "axis," having isolated Japan. *In reality the USSR took Japan's place in the structure of the axis.* The help of the distant Mikado to the military operations of Hitler in Europe would have an almost illusory character. On the contrary, the help of Stalin has a deep, real value. It is not surprising that Hitler preferred the friendship of Stalin to the friendship of the Mikado. Is it possible that "pacifists," "democrats," and "socialists" can talk without blushing about this new diplomatic combination?

And about the working class these gentlemen do not think at all. Meanwhile, the chaos provoked by the zigzags of the Comintern in the minds of the workers is one of the chief conditions for fascist victories. It is necessary to penetrate for a moment into the psychology of a revolutionary German worker who, in danger of his life, is leading the illegal struggle against National Socialism and suddenly sees that the Kremlin, which commands great resources, not only does not fight Hitler, but on the contrary, concludes an advantageous business deal on the arena of international robbery. Has the German worker not the right to spit in the faces of his teachers of yesterday?

Without any doubt the workers will do it. The only "merit" of the German-Soviet pact is that in unveiling the truth it broke the backbone of the Comintern. From all countries, particularly from France and the United States, come testimonies of a sharp crisis in the ranks of the Comintern, of departures of the imperialist patriots on the one hand, and of the internationalists on the other. No force in the world can stop this decomposition. The world proletariat will step over the treason of the Kremlin and also the cadaver of the Comintern.

## WHO IS GUILTY OF STARTING THE SECOND WORLD WAR?<sup>84</sup>

September 5, 1939

Yesterday I talked about the immediate responsibility for war. Hitler *started* bloody military operations that Stalin *helped* Hitler to start. This time the immediate, so to say "juridical," responsibility for *beginning* military activities shapes itself more clearly than in the last war. The question of responsibility plays, as it is known, a great role in the international propaganda of both warring camps. Everyone of the states participating in the war attempts to shift the responsibility onto the enemy.

From the historical and political point of view, however, this juridical (or diplomatic) criterion is of completely secondary importance. There are progressive, just wars and there are reactionary, unjust wars, independently of who "started" first. From the scientific historical point of view, progressive, just wars are those which serve the liberation of oppressed classes or oppressed nations and thus push human culture forward. On the contrary, those wars are reactionary which serve for the preservation of an antiquated social order, which serve for the enslavement of working classes and backward or weak nations. Consequently, of decisive importance is the question not of who "started" first, who appeared as an "aggressor," but of which class is leading the war and in behalf of what historical ends. If the oppressed class or an oppressed nation appears in the role of "aggressor" on behalf of its liberation, we will always welcome such aggression.

The attempts to picture the next war as a war between democracies and fascism were shattered against the real march of events. The present war, which its participants started before they signed the treaty of Versailles, grew out of imperialist contradictions. It was as inevitable as the crash of trains which are let loose one toward the other on the same track.

The chief antagonists on the European continent are Germany and France. In the struggle for hegemony in Europe and its colonial possessions, France attempted to keep Germany (not the fascist but the democratic one) in a condition of division and weakness. In this sense French imperialism was the midwife of German National Socialism. On the contrary

England, which was interested in breaking the European hegemony of France and its international pretensions, began soon after Versailles to support Berlin against Paris. *The rearming of Nazi Germany would have been impossible without the direct help of England.* Thus the masked but deep antagonisms between the democracies were a springboard for Hitler.

In Munich, England supported Hitler in the hope that he would be satisfied with central Europe. But a couple of weeks later, England "finally discovered" that German imperialism strives toward world domination. In its role as the world colonial power, Great Britain couldn't fail to answer the unrestrained pretensions of Hitler with war.

Diplomatic machinations, juggling with the formula "democracy versus fascism," sophisms concerning responsibility, cannot make us forget that *the struggle is going on between the imperialist slaveholders of different camps for a new division of the world.* According to its ends and methods the present war is a direct prolongation of the previous great war, only with much greater rottenness of the capitalist economy, and with much more terrible methods of destruction and extermination.

Consequently, I don't see the slightest reason for changing those principles in relation to the war which were elaborated between 1914 and 1917 by the best representatives of the workers' movement under the leadership of Lenin. The present war has a reactionary character on both sides. Whichever camp is victorious, humanity will be thrown far behind.

The task of the authentic representatives of the working class and oppressed nations does not consist in helping one imperialist camp against the other, but in teaching the laboring masses of all countries to understand the reactionary meaning of the present war, to raise their own program—*the world socialist federation of nations*—and to prepare themselves to replace the regime of robbery by the regime of general cooperation.

This is the program of the Fourth International. It appears utopian to the so-called realists who don't understand the logic of historical development. The Fourth International now comprises only a small minority. But the party of Lenin also represented only an insignificant minority at the beginning of the last war and received nothing but spite from the cheap heroes of the phrase. War is a severe school. In its fire the old prejudices and habits of slaves will be burned out! The nations will come out of this war different than they went into it, and will reconstruct our planet according to the laws of reason.

## THE WAR AND THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION<sup>85</sup>

September 6, 1939

Our Ukrainian friends in Canada proposed that my recent articles on the Ukrainian question be published as a separate pamphlet. Of course I agreed to this proposal with great pleasure. I ask only that Ukrainian readers remember that they have before them, not a systematic exposition of the Ukrainian question in its entirety, but simply an attempt to establish, on a sound basis, the central political task of the moment.

These articles were written before the German attack on Poland. But that has not made them outdated, in my opinion. In a certain sense the opposite is true: Poland's transformation into a theater of war and Berlin's rapprochement with Moscow have given the Ukrainian question exceptional urgency. The pro-German orientation of a section of Ukrainian opinion will now simultaneously reveal both its reactionary character and its utopianism. Only the *revolutionary* orientation remains. The war will add a furious pace to the course of developments. In order not to be caught unprepared, it is necessary to take a timely and clear stand on the Ukrainian question.

## MOSCOW IS MOBILIZING<sup>86</sup>

September 11, 1939

Moscow mobilizes and everybody asks himself, against whom? But at the present moment even the Kremlin doesn't know. One thing is clear: the German-Soviet agreement facilitated the defeat of Poland, but didn't at all guarantee the Soviet Union's neutrality. The Polish army proved to be weaker than many supposed. Now in Paris and London, undoubtedly, the people are looking at the German army's approach to the Soviet border with interest and without excessive alarm. The friendship of Stalin and Hitler needs distance.

The complete defeat of Poland can prove fatal to the German-Soviet agreement. Having settled down on the borders of the Ukraine and White Russia, Hitler will propose that Stalin give a more active character to his new "friendship." Simultaneously, he can turn to Paris and London with a proposition to give the German army an opportunity to march further east, and will show complete willingness to bind himself, at the same time, not to raise the question of colonies for twenty-five or fifty years (Hitler gladly exchanges time for space). Under the pressure of double blackmail Stalin will have to make a definite choice. In view of this critical moment's approach, the Kremlin is mobilizing. In order to maintain both possibilities, the Moscow radio stations are giving news in the Russian language favorable to the Western democracies, and in the German language favorable to Germany. It is difficult to imagine a more symbolic expression of the Kremlin's double-dealing politics and of Stalin's personal character. In what way is this double dealing going to be solved?

Stalin understands what even ex-Kaiser Wilhelm understood: namely, that with a prolonged war Hitler is headed toward a great catastrophe. But the whole question is one of time limits and tempo. On the road to the abyss Hitler can not only crush Poland, but he can give the Soviet Union such

blows as to cost the Kremlin oligarchy their heads. And those gentlemen value their heads above everything. For their salvation they can be compelled to go farther on the road with Hitler than they wanted at the moment the pact was concluded.

As an obstacle on this road there is, it is true, the extreme unpopularity among the masses of the alliance with fascism. Molotov referred to it recently in his latest speech when he complained that the "simplified propaganda" (that is, the Comintern's propaganda of yesterday against fascism) gave birth even in the Soviet Union to discontent with a German-Soviet combination. The above-mentioned radio news in the Russian language testifies to this fact. But Stalin expects to master public opinion in his own country by further purges: the enmity of the Russian workers and peasants, unlike the enmity of Hitler, is not yet armed. Thus, having started as Hitler's quartermaster, Stalin can become his half-prisoner and ally.

But can't the Kremlin complete a new sharp turn, breaking the Soviet-German agreement and throwing itself at the last moment against Hitler? For this there would be necessary, of course, serious military successes by France and England in the next period, plus a radical change of the neutrality law in the United States. But the Kremlin would hardly enter an open war against Hitler even in this case. However, the concentration of significant forces on the Western border would permit Stalin to reject Hitler's absolutely inevitable new demands.

To connect the question of the direction of Moscow politics with the ideas of the international working class, with the tasks of socialism, with the principles of democracy, etc., can only be done by completely ignorant babblers or by paid agents of the Kremlin. In reality, Moscow politics is exclusively determined by the ruling oligarchy's struggle for self-preservation. The Kremlin's choice of roads will be determined by the material interrelation of forces of both camps and by the march of military operations in the next weeks. It is better not to say the "choice of roads," but the direction of the next zigzag.

## CLOSER HITLER-STALIN TIES SEEN<sup>87</sup>

**September 14, 1939**

1. On the thirteenth of September there were communications from Paris announcing that all Soviet ships sailing to England were given orders from Moscow to return to Soviet harbors. What does it mean? Factual severance of commercial relations with England? Moscow could apply this measure only upon Berlin's demand. What could this demand be based upon? Evidently upon secret articles in the German-Soviet pact. We cannot find any other explanation. Perhaps the international friends of Stalin and Hitler (friends of our friends are our friends) can furnish us another one?

2. On the thirteenth of September the official Soviet press agency, TASS, openly and bluntly accused Poland of violating the Soviet border with her military planes. Even the friends of Stalin and Hitler could scarcely maintain that Poland prepares to conquer the USSR at this time. The matter evidently concerns those cases when Polish planes in order to save themselves from the Germans approach the Soviet border. What interest does the Kremlin have in raising an international uproar about these incidents? An attempt to prove its loyalty to Hitler? Undoubtedly. But possibly something more. It is possible that the Kremlin, at Hitler's request, has begun to seek and publish pretexts for a closer and more open cooperation with Hitler.

One thing is clear beforehand: if the Kremlin, developing the present policy, shows itself driven into hostile actions against Poland, the international friends of the Kremlin (and by the same fact the enemies of the peoples of the USSR) would discover in it Stalin's new service to peace and democracy.

P. S. These lines were already written when the evening papers announced that *Pravda* of September 14 accuses Poland of oppressing the Ukrainians, White Russians, and Jews. The accusations by themselves are true. But isn't it astounding that *Pravda* remembered them precisely now when Poland is drenched with blood under the blows of the German army! To what end are the accusations of *Pravda* striving? Toward two ends at the same time: 1) to justify Hitler's attack on Poland; and 2) to prepare a more active cooperation of the Kremlin on Hitler's side.

## **STALIN—TEMPORARY HOLDER OF THE UKRAINE<sup>88</sup>**

**September 18, 1939**

War, like revolution, is distinguished by the fact that at a blow it destroys idiotic formulas and reveals the naked reality underneath. "Defense of democracy" is an empty formula. The invasion of Poland is a bloody reality.

Today it is clear that in the very same years in which the Comintern was bringing to a head its clamorous campaign for an alliance of the democracies against fascism, the Kremlin was preparing a military understanding with Hitler against the so-called democracies. Even complete idiots will have to understand now that the Moscow trials, with the aid of which the Bolshevik Old Guard was destroyed under the accusation of collaboration with the Nazis, were nothing but camouflage for the Stalinist alliance with Hitler. The secret is out. While the British and French missions were discussing with Voroshilov the problem of the most effective defense of Poland, the same Voroshilov, together with the representatives of the German general staff, was discussing the best manner in which to smash and divide Poland. The Kremlin not only deceived Chamberlain, Daladier, and Beck,<sup>89</sup> but also, and systematically, the working classes of the Soviet Union and the entire world.

Some fatuous people and snobs accuse me of being impelled to make horrible predictions out of "hatred" of Stalin. As if serious people allow themselves to be swayed by their personal feelings in questions of historical importance! The inexorable facts prove that reality is more horrible than all the predictions that I made. In entering Polish territory, the Soviet armies knew beforehand at what point they would meet—and as allies, not as enemies—with the armies of Hitler. The operation was determined in its main points by the secret clauses of the German-Soviet pact; the general staffs of both countries were to be found in constant collaboration; the Sta-

linist invasion is nothing but a symmetrical supplement of the Hitlerite operations. Such are the facts.

Until very recently the Kremlin, trying to gain the friendship of Warsaw (in the given case, to deceive it), declared that the slogan of self-determination for Western Ukrainia (Eastern Galicia) was criminal. The purges and executions in the Soviet Ukraine were provoked mainly by the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionists, against the will of Moscow, aspired to the liberation of Galicia from Polish oppression. Now the Kremlin covers its intervention in Poland with a penitent concern for the "liberation" and "unification" of the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples. In reality, the Soviet Ukraine, more than any other part of the Soviet Union, is bound by the ferocious chains of the Moscow bureaucracy. The aspirations of various sections of the Ukrainian nation for their liberation and independence are completely legitimate and have a very intense character. But these aspirations are directed also against the Kremlin. If the invasion gains its end, the Ukrainian people will find itself "unified," not in national liberty, but in bureaucratic enslavement. Furthermore, not a single honest person will be found who will approve of the "emancipation" of eight million Ukrainians and White Russians, at the price of the enslavement of twenty-three million Poles! Even if the Kremlin eventually organized a plebiscite in occupied Galicia, on the Goebbels pattern, it would not fool a soul. For it is not a question of emancipating an oppressed people, but rather one of extending the territory where bureaucratic oppression and parasitism will be practiced.

The Hitlerite press gives absolute approval to the "unification" and "liberation" of the Ukrainians under the claws of the Kremlin. With this Hitler is accomplishing two tasks: first, drawing the Soviet Union into his military orbit; second, taking a further preparatory step on the road towards the solution of his program of a "Greater Ukraine." Hitler's policy is the following: the establishment of a definite order for his conquests, one after the other, and the creation by each new conquest of a new system of "friendships." At the present stage Hitler concedes the Greater Ukraine to his friend Stalin as a temporary deposit. In the following stage he will pose the question of who is the owner of this Ukraine: Stalin or he, Hitler.

There are people who dare to compare the Stalin-Hitler alliance with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.<sup>90</sup> What a mockery! The Brest-Litovsk negotiations were carried out openly be-

fore all humanity. The Soviet revolution, at the end of 1917 and beginning of 1918, didn't have even a single battalion capable of carrying on the fight. Hohenzollern Germany attacked Russia, taking Soviet provinces and military supplies. The young government had no other physical possibility than to sign the peace treaty. This peace was openly defined by us as a capitulation of a disarmed revolution before a powerful enemy. We did not worship the Hohenzollerns but rather denounced the Brest-Litovsk peace publicly as extortion and robbery. We did not deceive the workers and peasants. The present Stalin-Hitler pact was concluded despite the existence of an army of several millions, and the immediate task of the pact was to facilitate Hitler's smashing of Poland and its division between Berlin and Moscow. Where is the analogy?

The words of Molotov to the effect that the Red Army would cover itself with "glory" in Poland, are to the ineradicable shame of the Kremlin. The Red Army received the order to defeat in Poland those who had been defeated by Hitler. This is the shameful and criminal task that the Red Army was assigned by the jackals of the Kremlin.



Ignace Reiss.

## THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE MURDER OF IGNACE REISS<sup>91</sup>

**September 21, 1939**

More than two years ago, Ignace Reiss, an Old Bolshevik, a devoted and outstanding revolutionist, broke openly with the Stalin regime. He left his important post in the GPU,<sup>92</sup> returned his Order of Lenin ("It is below my dignity to wear it together with the executioners of the best representatives of the working class"—he wrote to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on July 17, 1937), and he openly joined the ranks of the Fourth International in order to "begin all over again, in order to save socialism."

To Reiss' letter Stalin answered with the bullets of his hired assassins. The riddled body of Reiss was found on the outskirts of Lausanne on the night of September 5. But the assassins, spurred by Stalin, did their work carelessly, in a hurry, and failed to cover up their tracks. The Swiss police, without any special difficulty, succeeded in establishing that the murder was perpetrated by the GPU.

In breaking with Stalin, Reiss knew very well—better than anyone else—what awaited him, but Stalin could not terrorize him. Together with other genuine revolutionists, Reiss found his way to the Fourth International. It was precisely for this, for the world revolution, that he gave his life. In him the younger generation will ever remember their comrade-in-arms, their martyr and unwavering fighter.

## THE U. S. WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE WAR<sup>93</sup>

October 1, 1939

The policy of the Soviet Union, full of surprises even for interested observers, flows in reality from the Kremlin's traditional estimation of international relations, which could be formulated approximately in the following manner:

Since a long time ago, the economic importance not only of France but of Britain has ceased to correspond to the dimensions of their colonial possessions. A new war would be likely to overthrow those empires. (Not by accident, they say in the Kremlin, the smart opportunist, Mohandas K. Gandhi, already has raised a demand for the independence of India. This is only the beginning.) To tie one's fate to the fate of Britain and France, if the United States does not stand behind them, means to doom oneself beforehand.

The "operations" on the Western front during the first month of the war only strengthened Moscow in its estimation. France and Britain decide not to violate the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland—their violation is absolutely inevitable in case the real war develops—nor do they seriously attack the Siegfried line. Apparently, they do not want to wage war at all, not having in advance the guarantee that the United States will not acquiesce in their defeat.

Moscow thinks, consequently, that the present confused and indecisive conduct of operations by France and Great Britain is a kind of military sitdown strike against the United States, but not a war against Germany.

In these conditions, the August pact of Joseph Stalin and Adolph Hitler was supplemented inevitably by the September agreement.<sup>94</sup> The real meaning of the algebraic formulas of the new diplomatic instrument will be clarified by the course of the war during the next weeks.

It is highly improbable that Moscow will now intervene on Hitler's side against the colonial empires. Stalin entered

the extremely unpopular bloc with Hitler only to save the Kremlin from the risks and disturbances of a war. After that, he found himself involved in a small war in order to justify his bloc with Hitler. In the crevices of a great war, Moscow will try, also, to attain some further new conquest in the Baltic Sea and in the Balkans.

It is necessary, however, to view these provincial conquests in the perspective of the world war. If Stalin wants to retain the new provinces, then sooner or later he will be forced to stake the existence of his power. All his policy is directed toward the postponement of this moment.

But if it is difficult to expect the direct military cooperation of Moscow with Berlin on the Western front, it would be sheer lightmindedness to underestimate the economic support that the Soviet Union, with the help of German technology, particularly in the means of transportation, can render the German army. The importance of the Anglo-French blockade will certainly not be annihilated, but it will be considerably weakened.

The German-Soviet pact will have, under these conditions, two consequences. It will greatly extend the duration of the war; and it will bring closer the moment of intervention of the United States.

By itself, this intervention is absolutely inevitable. London wanted to think, in spite of the evidence, that Hitler's ambitions did not transcend the Danubian plain, and expected to keep Britain aside. In a similar manner, some people on the American continent expect to conceal themselves behind a paper screen of isolation from purely "European" insanity. Their hopes are in vain. It is a question of the struggle for *world domination*, and America will not be able to stand aside.

The intervention of the United States, which would be capable of changing the orientation not only of Moscow but also of Rome, is, however, only the music of the future. The empiricists of the Kremlin stand with both feet on the basis of the present. They do not believe in the victory of Britain and France, and consequently they stick to Germany.

In order to understand Soviet policy in all its unexpected turns, it is necessary to reject, above all, the absurd idea that Stalin wants to promote the international revolution by means of war. If the Kremlin strove to this end, how could it sacrifice its influence over the international working class for the sake of occupying some border territories?

The fate of the revolution will not be decided in Galicia, nor in Estonia, nor in Latvia, nor in Bessarabia. It will be de-

cided in Germany, but there Stalin supports Hitler. It will be decided in France and in Britain, but there Stalin dealt a mortal blow to the Communist parties. Nor will the Communist Party of the United States long be able to resist the consequences of the September pact. Poland will rise again; the Communist International, never.

In reality, there is no government in Europe or the whole world which at the present moment would fear the revolution more than the privileged caste ruling the Soviet Union. The Kremlin does not consider itself stable, and revolutions are contagious. Precisely because the Kremlin fears revolution, it fears war, which leads to revolution.

It is true that in the occupied regions the Kremlin is proceeding to expropriate the large proprietors. But this is not a revolution accomplished by the masses, but an administrative reform, designed to extend the regime of the USSR into the new territories. Tomorrow, in the "liberated" regions, the Kremlin will pitilessly crush the workers and peasants in order to bring them into subjection to the totalitarian bureaucracy. Hitler does not fear this type of "revolution" on his borders—and, in his own way, he is absolutely right.

In order to set the new-found friends at loggerheads with each other, Anglo-French propaganda makes every effort to present Hitler as a veritable instrument in Stalin's hands. That is contrary to good sense. In the September pact, as in the August pact, Hitler is the active party. Stalin plays a subordinate role, he adapts himself, he marches to Hitler's tune, and he doesn't go beyond the limits of what he is bound to do if he doesn't want to break with Hitler. Hitler's policies are of an offensive character, having worldwide scope. Stalin's policies are defensive and provincial. Hitler wants to split the British empire wide open, and prepare a base for war with the United States. Stalin supports him in order to divert him from the East. At each stage in his plan, Hitler knows enough to forge a new system of "friendships." In August, he assured himself of Stalin's neutrality and his economic cooperation—for the attack on Poland. In September, he made Stalin an interested partner in his struggle against France and Great Britain. Half of Poland is not too high a price to pay for that. In any case, if Hitler loses the war, he will lose Poland. If, thanks to Stalin, he emerges victorious, he will once again put all questions of the East on the agenda.

Given the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of Germany's

sustaining a prolonged war, Hitler wants to substitute for it a series of rapid coups. Today, Hitler again needs a breathing spell. Stalin, as previously, needs peace. Hence Stalin's eagerness to help Hitler obtain a capitulation from France and England without a fight. Certainly, the signing of a peace on the Western front would free Hitler's hands against the USSR. If, however, Stalin has associated himself with the latter's "peace offensive," that is because he is pursuing a conjunctural policy. Stalin is a tactician, not a strategist. Furthermore, after the partition of Poland, he lost his freedom of action.

To make the Kremlin change its policy there remains only one way, but a sure one. It is necessary to give Hitler such a decisive blow that Stalin will cease to fear him. In this sense, it is possible to say that the most important key to the Kremlin's policy is now in Washington.

## WILL NOT WRITE FOR BRITISH PAPER<sup>95</sup>

October 23, 1939

Cable Prepaid  
Leon Trotsky  
Mexico

Six hundred word article by return cable giving your reasons for opposing negotiations allies with Russia STOP Bernard Shaw article supporting Stalin will appear same page<sup>96</sup> STOP Prepared order fifteen pounds if published.

Editor, *Daily Herald*  
London, Oct. 20

Cable Prepaid  
Leon Trotsky  
Mexico

Would welcome immediate reply if prepared cable article requested last Friday or not STOP If agreeable cable article today at latest.

Editor, *Daily Herald*  
London, Oct. 23

Cable Collect  
Editor, *Daily Herald*  
London

You did not publish my letter protesting imperialist London policy against Mexico STOP You did not publish my statement on coming war granted to your own correspondent Vincent<sup>97</sup> STOP Now you want to adapt me to your anti-socialist policy STOP That will not succeed.

Leon Trotsky  
Coyoacan, Oct. 23

## ON THE QUESTION OF WORKERS' SELF-DEFENSE<sup>98</sup>

October 25, 1939

Every state is a coercive organization of the ruling class. The social regime remains stable so long as the ruling class is capable, by means of the state, of imposing its will on the exploited classes. The police and the army are the most important instruments of the state. The capitalists refrain (though not fully, by far) from maintaining their own private armies, declining in favor of the state, so as thus to hinder the working class from ever creating its own armed force.

While the capitalist system is on the rise, the state monopoly of the armed forces is perceived as something natural, even by the oppressed classes.

Before the last world war, the international Social Democracy, even in its best periods, did not even raise the question of arming the workers. What's more, they rejected such an idea as a romantic echo of the remote past.

It was only in czarist Russia that the young proletariat in the first years of this century began to resort to arming their own fighting detachments. This revealed the instability of the old regime in the most vivid fashion. The czarist monarchy found itself less and less able to regulate social relations by means of its normal agencies, i.e., the police and the army; and it was forced more and more to resort to the aid of volunteer bands (the Black Hundreds with their pogroms against the Jews, Armenians, students, workers, and others).<sup>99</sup> In response to this the workers, as well as various nationality groups, began to organize their own self-defense detachments. These facts indicated the beginning of the revolution.

In Europe the question of armed workers' detachments arose only toward the end of the war; in the United States it arose even later. In all cases, without exception, it was and is the capitalist reaction that first begins to set up special fighting organizations, which exist side by side with the police and

army of the bourgeois state. This is explained by the fact that the bourgeoisie is more farsighted and ruthless than the proletariat. Under the pressure of class contradictions, it no longer relies totally on its own state, since the state's hands are still tied to a certain extent by "democratic" norms. The appearance of "volunteer" fighting organizations that have as their objective the physical suppression of the proletariat is an unmistakable symptom that the disintegration of democracy has begun, owing to the fact that it is no longer possible to regulate the class contradictions by the old methods.

The hope of the reformist parties of the Second and Third Internationals and trade unions that the organs of the democratic state would defend them from fascist gangs has always and everywhere turned out to be an illusion. During serious crises, the police invariably maintain a posture of friendly neutrality, if not outright collaboration, with respect to the counterrevolutionary gangs. However, the extreme vitality of democratic illusions results in the workers being very slow to take up organizing their own fighting detachments. The designation "self-defense" fully corresponds to their intentions, at least in the first period, because the attack invariably originates from the side of the counterrevolutionary gangs. Monopoly capital, which is backing them up, launches a *preventive* war against the proletariat, in order to render it incapable of making a socialist revolution.

The process by which workers' self-defense detachments come into being is inseparably linked with the entire course of the class struggle in a country; and, therefore, reflects its inevitable aggravations and moderations, its ebbs and flows. Revolution comes upon a society not by a steady unbroken process, but through a series of convulsions, separated by distinct, sometimes protracted intervals, during which the political relations are so modified that the very idea of revolution seems to lose any connection with reality.

In accordance with this, the slogan of self-defense units at one time will meet a sympathetic response, and at another will sound like a voice calling in the wilderness, and then again, after a while, will acquire new popularity.

This contradictory process can be observed especially clearly in France over the course of recent years. As a result of a creeping economic crisis, reaction openly went over to the offensive in February 1934. Fascist organizations experienced rapid growth. On the other hand, the idea of self-defense acquired popularity in the ranks of the working class. Even

the reformist Socialist Party in Paris was compelled to create something akin to a self-defense apparatus.

The "People's Front" policy, i.e., the complete prostration of the workers' organizations before the bourgeoisie, postponed the danger of revolution to the indefinite future and allowed the bourgeoisie to take the fascist coup off the agenda. Moreover, having been freed from immediate internal dangers and finding themselves face to face with an intensifying threat from abroad, the French bourgeoisie began immediately to exploit, for imperialist aims, the fact that democracy had been "saved."

The impending war was again proclaimed to be a war to preserve democracy. The politics of the official workers' organizations took on an openly imperialist character. The section of the Fourth International, having taken a serious step forward in 1934, felt isolated in the period that followed. The call for workers' self-defense hung in mid-air. Who in fact were they to defend themselves from? After all, "democracy" had triumphed all along the line. . . . The French bourgeoisie had entered this war under the banner of "democracy" and with the support of all the official workers' organizations, which permitted the "Radical Socialist" Daladier to immediately set up a "democratic" likeness of a totalitarian regime.

The question of self-defense organizations will be revived in the ranks of the French proletariat with the growth of revolutionary resistance against the war and imperialism. The subsequent political development of France, and of other countries as well, at the present time is inseparably linked with the war. The growth of mass discontent will at first give rise to the most savage reaction from above. Militarized fascism will come to the aid of the bourgeoisie and its state power. The issue of organization for self-defense will confront the working class as a life-and-death matter. This time, one must assume there will turn out to be a sufficient supply of rifles, machine-guns, and cannons in the hands of the working class.

Similar phenomena, although in less vivid form, were revealed in the political life of the United States. After the successes of the Roosevelt era, betraying all expectations, gave way in the autumn of 1937 to a headlong decline, reaction began to come forward in an open and militant manner. The provincial mayor Hague immediately became a "national" figure.<sup>100</sup> The pogrom-minded sermons of Father Coughlin were echoed widely.<sup>101</sup> The Democratic administration and its police retreated in the face of monopoly capital's gangs. In this period the idea of military detachments for the defense

of the workers' organizations and press began to get a response among the most conscious workers and the most threatened stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, particularly among the Jews.

The new economic revival, which began in July 1939, obviously connected with armaments expansion and the imperialist war, revived the faith of the Sixty Families in their "democracy." To this was added on the other hand the danger of the United States being drawn into the war. This was no time to rock the boat! All the sections of the bourgeoisie closed ranks behind a policy of caution and preservation of "democracy." Roosevelt's position in Congress is becoming stronger. Hague and Father Coughlin have retired far into the background. Simultaneously the Dies Committee,<sup>102</sup> which neither the right nor the left took seriously in 1937, has acquired in recent months considerable authority. The bourgeoisie is again "against fascism as well as communism"; it wants to show that it can cope with all types of "extremism" by parliamentary means.

Under these conditions, the slogan of workers' self-defense cannot help but lose its power of attraction. After an encouraging beginning it is as though the organizing of workers' self-defense has wound up at a dead end.

In some places it is difficult to draw the workers' attention to the matter. In others, where large numbers of workers have joined self-defense groups, the leaders don't know how to make use of the workers' energy. Interest wanes. There is nothing unexpected or puzzling about all this. The entire history of workers' self-defense organizations is one of constantly alternating periods of rise and decline. Both reflect spasms of the social crisis.

The tasks of the proletarian party in the area of workers' self-defense flow from the general conditions of our epoch as well as from its particular fluctuations. It is immeasurably easier to draw relatively broad sections of the working class into fighting detachments in circumstances when reactionary gangs are making direct attacks on workers' picket lines, trade unions, press, etc. However, when the bourgeoisie considers it more prudent to abandon the irregular bands and push methods of "democratic" domination over the masses into the foreground, the workers' interest in self-defense organizations inevitably diminishes. This is what is happening right now. Does this mean, however, that we should abandon the task of arming the workers' vanguard under these conditions?

Not at all. Now, at a time when the world war has begun,

more than ever before, we proceed from the inevitability and imminence of the international proletarian revolution. This fundamental idea, which distinguishes the Fourth International from all other workers' organizations, determines all our activities, including those which relate to the organization of self-defense detachments. This does not mean, however, that we do not take into account the conjunctural fluctuations in the economy as well as in politics, with the temporary ebbs and flows. If one proceeds only on the basis of the overall characterization of the epoch, and nothing more, ignoring its concrete stages, one can easily lapse into schematism, sectarianism, or quixotic fantasy. With every serious turn of events we adjust our basic tasks to the changed concrete conditions of the given stage. Herein lies the art of tactics.

We will need party cadres specializing in military affairs. They must, therefore, continue their practical and theoretical work even now, in a time of "low tide." The theoretical work must consist of studying the experience of military and combat organizations of the Bolsheviks, the Irish and Polish revolutionary nationalists, the fascists, the Spanish militia, and others. We must put together a model program of studies and a library on these matters, arrange lectures, and so forth.

Staff work must at the same time be continued without interruption. We must assemble and study newspaper clippings and other information concerning every kind of counterrevolutionary organization and, at the same time, of national groupings (Jews, Negroes, and others), which in a critical moment can play a revolutionary role. This is, in fact, relevant to an extremely important part of our work, devoted to defense against the GPU.

Precisely on account of the exceptionally difficult situation into which the Comintern has fallen—and to a considerable extent the foreign GPU secret service which is supported by the Comintern—we can expect vicious blows at the Fourth International on the part of the GPU. We must be able to find them out and avert them in time!

Alongside this tightly restricted work, intended for party members only, we must create broader, open organizations for various kinds of particular objectives, one way or another connected to the future military tasks of the proletariat. This would pertain to various kinds of workers' sports organizations (for athletes, boxers, marksmen, etc.), and finally, choral and music societies. When there is a shift in the political situation, all these subsidiary organizations can serve as an immediate

basis for broader detachments for workers' self-defense.

In this outline of a program for action we proceed from the view that the political conditions of the given moment, above all the weakening of the pressure of domestic fascism, leave narrow limits for work in the area of self-defense. And that is the case in so far as it is a matter of creating strictly class-based military detachments.

A decisive turn in favor of workers' self-defense will come only with a new collapse of democratic illusions, which under conditions of world war should come quickly and should assume catastrophic proportions.

But by way of compensation, the war is opening up now, at this very moment, such possibilities for the training of workers in military affairs as were impossible even to conceive of in peacetime. And this is true not only of the war but also of the period immediately preceding the war.

It is impossible to foresee all the practical possibilities beforehand; but they will undoubtedly become wider with each passing day as the country's armed forces expand. We must focus the greatest attention on this matter, creating a special commission for this purpose (or entrusting the matter to a self-defense staff and enlarging it as need be).

Most of all we must take full advantage of the interest in military problems which has been aroused by the war and organize a series of lectures on questions of contemporary arms types and tactical methods. Workers' organizations can enlist for this military specialists who have absolutely no ties to the party and its aims. But this is only the first step.

We must use the government's preparations for war in order to train in military matters the largest possible number of party members and trade unionists under its influence. While fully maintaining our fundamental aim—the creation of class-based military detachments—we must firmly link its accomplishment with the conditions created by the imperialists' preparations for war.

Without in any way wavering from our program we must speak to the masses in a language they understand. "We Bolsheviks also want to defend democracy, but not the kind that is run by sixty uncrowned kings. First let's sweep our democracy clean of capitalist magnates, then we will defend it to the last drop of blood. Are you, who are not Bolsheviks, really ready to defend *this* democracy? But you must, at least, be able to the best of your ability to defend it so as not to be a blind instrument in the hands of the Sixty Families and the

bourgeois officers devoted to them. The working class must learn military affairs in order to advance the largest possible number of officers from its own ranks.

"We must demand that the state, which tomorrow will ask for the workers' blood, today give the workers the opportunity to master military technique in the best possible way in order to achieve the military objectives with the minimum expenditure of human lives.

"To accomplish that, a regular army and barracks by themselves are not enough. Workers must have the opportunity to get military training at their factories, plants, and mines at specified times, while being paid by the capitalists. If the workers are destined to give their lives, the bourgeois patriots can at least make a small material sacrifice.

"The state must issue a rifle to every worker capable of bearing arms and set up rifle and artillery ranges for military training purposes in places accessible to the workers."

Our agitation in connection with the war and all our politics connected with the war must be as uncompromising in relation to the pacifists as to the imperialists.

"This war is not our war. The responsibility for it lies squarely on the capitalists. But so long as we are still not strong enough to overthrow them and must fight in the ranks of their army, we are obliged to learn to use arms as well as possible!"

Women workers must also have the right to bear arms. The largest possible number of women workers must have the opportunity, at the capitalists' expense, to receive nurse's training.

Just as every worker, exploited by the capitalists, seeks to learn as well as possible the production techniques, so every proletarian soldier in the imperialist army must learn as well as possible the art of war so as to be able, when the conditions change, to apply it in the interests of the working class.

We are not pacifists. No. We are revolutionaries. And we know what lies ahead for us.

## LETTER TO THE "NEW YORK TIMES"<sup>103</sup>

November 20, 1939

To the Editor of the *New York Times*:

Your Moscow correspondent in a dispatch on the foreign policy of the Kremlin, in the *New York Times* of November 12, affirms that this policy is dictated by Marxist doctrine. Mr. Gedye reiterates insistently: "They are Marxists first, last, and always." Thus he agrees completely with this evaluation which the heads of the Kremlin are giving themselves and which is necessary for them in order to sustain the reputation of their international agency, the Comintern. It is impossible, of course, to enter here into a discussion upon the Kremlin's "Marxism." However, there are more concrete affirmations in Mr. Gedye's dispatch which I cannot pass over.

"The leaders," writes Mr. Gedye, "have not adopted the theory of Leon Trotsky of 'permanent revolt' and the view that socialism in one country is impossible. Far from that, they are as convinced as ever that Lenin was right."

These two sentences contain, mildly speaking, two misunderstandings. Lenin never propagated the theory of socialism in one country. On the contrary, he affirmed constantly that the ultimate fate of the social order of the USSR depends completely upon the fate of international capitalism. Permit me to refer to my *History of the Russian Revolution* (Vol. III, pp. 378-418), where, I dare believe, it is proved irrefutably that Lenin stood on the conception directly opposed to that which is now ascribed to him by the Kremlin.

Even after the death of Lenin in the spring of 1924, Stalin still continued to explain in his compilation, *Problems of Leninism*, how and why Lenin considered it impossible to construct a socialist society in a single country. Only in the next edition of the same book in the fall of 1924 did Stalin, moved by practical and not theoretical considerations, radically change his position on this not unimportant issue. Following this turn, the Kremlin made an attempt to force Lenin

to change his conception too. Mr. Gedye unfortunately supports this attempt.

Not less erroneous is the assertion concerning the theory of "permanent revolt" allegedly subscribed to by me. The theory of "permanent revolution" (not "revolt"), starting from an analysis of the class relationships in czarist Russia, reached the conclusion that the democratic revolution in Russia must lead inevitably to the conquest of power by the proletariat and thus open the era of socialist revolution. I don't believe that the latest events have refuted this theory promulgated at the beginning of 1905. In any case, it has nothing in common with the theory of "permanent revolt," which seems to me simply nonsense. The totalitarian press of Moscow more than once of course has represented my views in a caricatural form. Mr. Gedye obviously has assimilated this caricatural presentation.

I must say in general that nowhere are the foreign correspondents so persistently and successfully worked upon as in Moscow. In the past years we have observed how some American journalists systematically induced American public opinion into error by their articles upon the "most democratic constitution in the world," upon the Kremlin's profound sympathy for the democracies, upon the Kremlin's not less profound hatred for Hitler, and so on.

As a result of such information the latest turns of the Kremlin took the public by surprise. In a country where the books devoted to the history of the party and the revolution, the historical plays, historical films, historical paintings are nothing but consciously fabricated falsifications, the foreign correspondent should provide himself with a good deal of critical distrust if he really wishes to inform public opinion in his own country and not simply maintain friendly relations with the Kremlin.

Permit me to utilize this occasion for another correction. Several times I have encountered the allegation that Lenin characterized Trotsky as the "most clever member of the Central Committee." I am afraid that this translation originated also from one of the too trustful Moscow correspondents. The word "clever" in this context has an ironical, a somewhat debasing connotation of which there is not a trace in the so-called Testament of Lenin. *Samiy sposobniy*, the exact Russian words used by Lenin, can be translated into English as "most able," but in no case as "most clever."

Leon Trotsky

## **LETTER ON INDIA<sup>104</sup>**

**November 24, 1939**

Dear Comrade Perera,

The question about the possible military intervention of the Red Army in India (not to speak about Ceylon) has been launched absolutely artificially by some of the American comrades. The possibility is not excluded, but it is not this question that is now on the order of the day. From the principled point of view I don't see here any new question in comparison with the Chinese or Spanish experience. The Red Army is not an independent political factor but a military instrument of the Bonapartist bureaucracy of the USSR. Military intervention would be only the continuation of political intervention, and the political intervention of Stalin's Comintern is developing in India as elsewhere every day. But our task is not to speculate about the possibilities of a future military intervention—rather it is to learn how to fight against the present political intervention. Every fight demands a correct appreciation of all the factors involved.

The first thing is not to forget that the direct enemy of the Indian workers and peasants is not the Red Army but British imperialism. Some comrades, who in the last period have replaced Marxist policy by anti-Stalinist policy, forget the political realities in India and imitate the Stalinists of yesterday who proclaimed—before the Stalin-Hitler pact of course—that the main enemy in India is . . . Japan.

The Stalinists in India directly support the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois national parties and do all they can to subjugate the workers and peasants through these parties. What we must do is create an absolutely independent proletarian party with a clear class program.

The general historic role of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their Comintern is counterrevolutionary. But through their military and other interests they can be forced to support pro-

gressive movements. (Even Ludendorff felt himself forced to give Lenin a train—a very progressive action—and Lenin accepted it.)<sup>105</sup> We must keep our eyes open to discern the progressive acts of the Stalinists, support them independently, foresee in time the danger, the betrayals, warn the masses and gain their confidence. If our policy is firm and intransigent and realistic at the same time, we would succeed in compromising the Stalinists on the basis of revolutionary experience. If the Red Army intervenes we will continue the same policy, adapting it to military conditions. We will teach the Indian workers to fraternize with the rank and file soldiers and denounce the repressive measures of their commanders and so on.

The main task in India is the overthrow of British domination. This task imposes upon the proletariat the support of every oppositional and revolutionary action directed against imperialism.

This support must be inspired by a firm distrust of the national bourgeoisie and their petty-bourgeois agencies.

We must not confound our organization, our program, our banner with theirs for a moment.

We must observe strictly the old rule: march separately, strike together.

We must keep a suspicious eye on the temporary ally as well as on the foe.

We must utilize the dissensions of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies in order to reinforce the self-confidence of the proletarian vanguard.

If we follow seriously these good old rules, the intervention of the Red Army would not take us unawares.

With warmest greetings to yourself and to the Ceylon comrades, and with best wishes for your trip,

Yours comradely,  
L. Trotsky

## AN INVITATION FROM THE DIES COMMITTEE<sup>106</sup>

November 28, 1939

Dear Friends:

I found, not without some surprise, I must confess, in your minutes of October 17 a motion by Comrade Kelvin [Burnham] concerning the appearance of "Y" [Trotsky] before the "X" [Dies] Committee.<sup>107</sup>

(1) On the purely formal side of the question: I was invited over the telephone and then by telegram. In order not to place any obstacles in the way of such an excellent opportunity which I found exceptionally favorable from a political point of view, I answered immediately in the affirmative. At the same time I wrote to you asking for your feelings in regard to the matter. Naturally if a formal and authoritative decision had been made [by the SWP leadership] against my appearance, I would have submitted with a public declaration giving the political reasons for the decision. Before telegraphing my answer to the committee, I consulted all the comrades of my household and everyone agreed that we had an exceptional opportunity which must be utilized.

(2) The committee can be considered from two points of view: (a) as a parliamentary investigating committee, (b) as a kind of "tribunal." Will Comrade Kelvin say that we should boycott parliamentarism or that we should boycott the bourgeois courts?

(3) The committee, like the whole parliament, is reactionary and pursues reactionary aims; but insofar as we participate in parliamentary activity we do so with the purpose of combatting these reactionary aims. Why can we not follow the same policy towards one of the organs of parliament? If we had our own representatives they would insist of course upon having a member upon the committee in order to counteract the reactionary maneuvers. Why cannot a witness perform the same work?

(4) We ourselves created a committee of bourgeois liberals in order to investigate the Moscow trials [the Dewey Commission]. Now we have a parliamentary committee which is obliged by its position to investigate many things connected with the Moscow trials. The attorneys for the frame-ups were witnesses before this committee against us. Why can we not appear before the committee with the purpose of establishing the truth? The audience of this committee is thousands of times larger than that of the Dewey Committee.

(5) Or would Comrade Kelvin say that in the first case we were dealing with liberals and in the second with reactionaries? I will not enter into the political evaluation of the members of the two committees, but we know very well that Dewey himself did everything in order to compromise Bolshevism in general on the basis of the work of the Committee [of Inquiry]. We knew this in advance, but we knew also that the advantages we would gain from the investigation would be incomparably more important than the disadvantages of Dewey's political aims.

(6) Such a sharp cleavage between bourgeois liberals and bourgeois reactionaries reminds me a little of the cleavage between good pacts with democracies and bad pacts with fascist countries, but I will not enter here into this larger field. It is enough to add only that we took the responsibility for the composition of the Dewey Committee since we recognized the full authority of their decision, whereas the "X" Committee is a state institution which we use only as a tribune.

(7) When the "X" Committee began its hearings there were some negligently written articles in the *Socialist Appeal*, where the depositions of renegades were confounded with appearance before the committee in general. This negligence in analysis can be easily explained by the fact that none of us thought at that time about the possibility of one of us appearing before the committee and proclaiming a Marxist point of view. But to insist upon some false formulations and to sacrifice an extraordinary political possibility would be a crime.

(8) To avoid temptation and escape the risk of sin by abstaining, not appearing, not intervening, is a purely negative, passive, and sterile radicalism. To appear if necessary on foe's territory and to fight him with his own weapons—that is revolutionary radicalism.

(9) I am astonished all the more because of the fact that the author of the motion is Comrade Kelvin who was a protagonist—and with full right—of our action in favor of the

War Referendum initiative,<sup>108</sup> a purely parliamentary measure.

(10) Neither can I agree with the position of Comrade Levine that the appearance of "Y" before the committee should be put on the same plane as "T's" [Trotsky's] writing in the bourgeois press and that in the United States no American comrade should testify voluntarily before the "X" Committee. "T's" writing in the bourgeois press has indeed an "exceptional" character in view of his past and so on, but appearing before the committee is by no means exceptional. I believe even that Comrade "Y" should name in his deposition several American comrades as more competent than he himself in this or that question and so give the committee an occasion to call them. It would be an excellent expedient for popularizing some of our comrades before a wide section of the public.

(11) I ask you to consider this last idea as a practical proposition for your decision.

Yours comradely,  
Hansen [Trotsky]

## THE TWIN-STARS: HITLER-STALIN<sup>109</sup>

December 4, 1939

When Hitler invaded Poland with lightning speed from the west, Stalin cautiously crept into Poland from the east. When Hitler, having subjected 23,000,000 Poles, proposed to end the "useless" war, Stalin through his diplomatic channels and his Comintern praised the advantages of peace. When Stalin occupied strategic positions in the Baltic, Hitler readily transferred his Germans elsewhere. When Stalin attacked Finland, Hitler's press, alone in the world, proclaimed its own complete solidarity with the Kremlin. The orbits of Stalin and Hitler are bound together by some internal attraction. What kind of attraction? How long will it last?

Twin stars are "optical," that is, apparent; or "physical," that is, true twins, forming a pair in which one star revolves about the other. Do Hitler and Stalin represent true or apparent twin stars in the present bloody sky of world politics? And if they are true twins, who revolves about whom?

Hitler himself speaks reservedly about the durable, "realistic" pact. Stalin prefers to smoke his pipe in silence. The politicians and journalists of the hostile camp represent Stalin as the main star and Hitler as the satellite in order to foment a quarrel between them. Let us attempt to analyze this by no means simple question, not forgetting that the orbits of world politics cannot be determined with such precision as the orbits of celestial bodies.

Having arisen much later than the Western powers, capitalist Germany constructed the most advanced and dynamic industry on the European continent; but it had been passed by in the previous division of the world. "We will divide it again," proclaimed the German imperialists in 1914. They were mistaken. The aristocracy of the world united against them and triumphed. Now Hitler hungers to repeat the experiment of 1914 on a more grandiose scale. He cannot help hungering for this. German capitalism is suffocating within the confines of her boundaries. Nevertheless Hitler's problem is insoluble. Even if he wins the war, the redivision of the

world in favor of Germany cannot take place. Germany came too late. Capitalism is stifling everywhere. The colonies don't want to be colonies. The new world war will give a tremendous invigorating impulse to the movement for independence among the oppressed nations.

Hitler switches "friendships," changes evaluations of nations and governments, breaks agreements and alliances, dupes enemies and friends; but all this is dictated by one sole objective: redivision of the world. "Germany is not a world power at the present time," Hitler wrote in his book. But "Germany will become a world power or cease to exist." To convert united Germany into a base for European domination; to convert united Europe into a base for the struggle for world domination, consequently for confining, weakening, and reducing America—this task remains unchanged for Hitler. This end is for him the justification for the totalitarian regime which suppressed the class contradictions inside the German nation with an iron hoop.

Completely contradictory features characterize the USSR. Czarist Russia left a heritage of misery and backwardness. The mission of the Soviet regime is not that of securing new areas for the productive forces but that of erecting productive forces for the old areas. The economic tasks of the USSR do not necessitate the extension of her borders. The level of her productive forces forbids a major war. The offensive power of the USSR is not considerable. Her defensive power consists, above all, in her vast spaces.

Since the latest Kremlin "successes," it has become fashionable to compare the present Moscow policy with the traditional policy of Great Britain, who, preserving her own neutrality, maintained a balance of power in Europe and at the same time retained the key to this balance of power in her own hands. According to this theory the Kremlin moved over to the side of Germany as the weakest power only in order to shift over to the hostile camp in the event the German successes were too great. Everything in this theory is topsy-turvy. Britain's traditional policy was possible thanks to her tremendous economic preponderance over all the European countries. The Soviet Union, on the contrary, in economic respects is the weakest of all the great powers.

Last March, after many years of extravagant official boasting, Stalin for the first time spoke at the congress of the Russian Communist Party on the comparative productivity of labor in the USSR and the West. This excursion into the sphere of world statistics was made in order to explain away the

poverty in which the peoples of the USSR still live. In order to catch up with Germany in the production of pig iron, the USSR in relation to its population would have to produce 45,000,000 tons a year instead of the 15,000,000 of today; in order to catch up with the United States, it would be necessary to raise the yearly production of pig iron to 60,000,000 tons—that is, to quadruple it. The same is true, and even more unfavorably, of all the other industries. Stalin, in conclusion, expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would catch up with the advanced capitalist countries during the next ten to fifteen years. Naturally, this time limit is questionable. But the involvement of the USSR in a major war before the end of this period would signify in any case a struggle with unequal weapons.

The subjective factor, not less important than the material, has changed in the last years sharply for the worse. The tendency toward socialist equality proclaimed by the revolution has been stamped out and defamed. In the USSR there are twelve to fifteen million privileged individuals who concentrate in their hands about one half of the national income, and who call this regime "socialism." On the other hand there are approximately 160,000,000 people oppressed by the bureaucracy and caught in the grip of dire poverty.

The relations of Hitler and Stalin to the war are completely contradictory. The totalitarian regime of Hitler arose out of the fear of the possessing classes of Germany before a socialist revolution. Hitler was mandated by the owners to save their property from the menace of Bolshevism at any cost, and to open up a passageway to the world arena. Stalin's totalitarian regime arose out of the fear of the new caste of revolutionary parvenus before the strangled revolutionary people.

War is dangerous for both of them. But Hitler is unable to carry out his historic mission by any different means. A victorious offensive war would secure the economic future of German capitalism and, along with this, the National Socialist regime.

It is different with Stalin. He cannot wage an offensive war with any hope of victory. In case the USSR enters the war, with its innumerable victims and privations, the whole fraud of the official regime, its outrages and violence, will inevitably provoke a profound reaction on the part of the people, who have already carried out three revolutions in this century. No one knows this better than Stalin. The fundamental thought of his foreign policy is to escape a major war.

Stalin engineered an alliance with Hitler, to the surprise

of all the diplomatic routinists and pacifist simpletons, because the danger of a major war could come only from Hitler, and because, according to the Kremlin's evaluation, Germany is mightier than her possible enemies. The protracted conferences in Moscow with the military delegations of France and England last summer served not only as a camouflage for the negotiations with Hitler but also as direct spying for military information. The general staff of Moscow became convinced, evidently, that the Allies were ill-prepared for a major war. A thoroughly militarized Germany is a formidable enemy; it is possible to buy her benevolences only by cooperating in her plans.

Stalin's decision was determined by this conclusion. The alliance with Hitler not only eliminated for the time being the danger of involving the USSR in a major war but also opened up the possibility of gaining immediate strategic advantages. In the Far East, Stalin retreated again and again for a number of years in order to escape war; on the Western border the circumstances were such that he was able to escape war by fleeing—forward; not through giving up old positions but through taking new ones.

The press of the Allies pictures the situation as if Hitler were Stalin's prisoner, and exaggerates the gains that Moscow made at the expense of Germany—half of Poland (according to population about one-third), plus domination of the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, plus an open door to the Balkans, etc. The advantages won by Moscow are undoubtedly considerable. But the final score has not yet been settled. Hitler started war on a worldwide scale. From this struggle Germany either will emerge master of Europe and all the European colonies, or will founder. To safeguard his eastern flank in such a war is a question of life or death for Hitler. He paid the Kremlin with provinces of the former czarist empire. Is this payment too high?

The argument that Stalin duped Hitler with his invasion of Poland and his pressure on the Baltic countries is completely absurd. It is much more probable that Hitler himself inspired Stalin to occupy Eastern Poland and to lay hands on the Baltic states. Inasmuch as National Socialism grew out of a crusade against the Soviet Union, Stalin naturally could not depend upon Hitler's word of honor. The negotiations were carried out in a "realistic" tone. "You are afraid of me?" Hitler asked Stalin. "Do you want guarantees? Take them yourself." And Stalin took them. To picture it as if the new Western boundary of the USSR were a permanent barrier to Hitler's road eastward violates all proportion. Hitler solves his tasks by stages.

On the order of the day now is the crushing of Great Britain. For the sake of this objective it is possible to sacrifice something. The march eastward presupposes a major war between Germany and the USSR. When the time comes for this war, the question as to what meridian the struggle will begin upon will have only secondary significance.

The attack upon Finland seems at first glance contrary to Stalin's dread of war. But the matter in reality is different. Beside the blueprints there is an objective logic in the situation. In order to escape the war, Stalin made an alliance with Hitler. In order to safeguard himself against Hitler, he occupied a series of bases on the Baltic coast. However, Finland's resistance threatened to reduce all these strategic advantages to zero and even to convert them into their opposite. Who will settle accounts with Moscow if Helsinki refuses? Stalin, having read off "A," is compelled to read "B." Then follow the other letters in the alphabet. Stalin seeking to escape a war does not mean that war will permit Stalin to escape.

Germany obviously pushed Moscow against Finland. Each step Moscow takes westward brings closer the involvement of the Soviet Union in the war. If this objective were gained, the world situation would change considerably. The Near and Middle East would become the arena of the war. The question of India would arise at once. Hitler would breathe with relief and, in case of an unfavorable turn of events, gain the possibility of concluding peace at the expense of the Soviet Union. Moscow undoubtedly gnashed its teeth upon reading the friendly articles in the German press. But gnashing one's teeth is not a political factor. The pact remains in force. And Stalin remains Hitler's satellite.

The immediate advantages to Moscow in the pact are indisputable. So long as Germany is occupied on the Western front, the Soviet Union feels much more free in the Far East. This doesn't mean that offensive operations will be launched there. It is true that the Japanese oligarchy is even less capable of waging a war than the one in Moscow. However, compelled to face the West, Moscow cannot have the slightest motive for expanding in Asia. Japan, for her part, must consider that she could expect a serious and even annihilating resistance from the USSR. Under these conditions Tokyo must prefer the program of her navy—an offensive not to the West but to the South, toward the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, Borneo, French Indochina, British Burma. . . . An agreement between Moscow and Tokyo on this basis would constitute a symmetrical supplement to the pact between Moscow and

Berlin. The question as to how this would influence the situation of the United States does not enter into the scope of this article.

Referring to the lack of raw materials in Russia itself, the world press insists upon the insignificance of the economic help which Stalin can render Hitler. The question, however, is not so simple. The lack of raw materials in the USSR has a relative, not an absolute character; the bureaucracy in its drive for a high tempo of industrial development cannot maintain a proper balance between different sections of the economy. If the tempo of growth in various sections of industry is lowered for a year or two from 15 percent to 10 or 5 percent, still more if industrial production is maintained at the level of the preceding year, a significant surplus of raw materials immediately appears. The absolute blockade of German foreign trade will, on the other hand, inevitably divert a considerable amount of German exports to Russia in exchange for Soviet raw materials.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the USSR has stocked and is still stocking immense reserves of raw materials and foodstuffs for defensive military purposes. A significant part of these reserves represents a potential source of supplies for Germany. In addition to this, Moscow can turn over to Hitler gold, which in spite of all the efforts to establish a closed economy remains one of the important sinews of war. Finally, the friendly neutrality of Moscow extraordinarily facilitates Germany in exploiting the resources of the Baltic countries, Scandinavia, and the Balkans. "Together with Soviet Russia," not without foundation wrote the *Voelkischer Beobachter* [People's Observer], Hitler's organ, on November 2, "we dominate the sources of raw materials and foodstuffs of the whole East."

Several months before the conclusion of the pact between Moscow and Berlin, London evaluated more soberly than now the importance of the economic assistance that the USSR could give Hitler. A semi-official investigation conducted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs on the "political and strategic interests of the United Kingdom" (the introduction is dated March 1939) declares in relation to the possibility of a Soviet-German rapprochement: "The danger to Great Britain of such a combination might be very great. It is questionable," continues the collective author, "how far Great Britain could hope to reach a decisive victory in any struggle with Germany unless the German eastern frontier could be blockaded by land." This evaluation deserves the most care-

ful attention. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the alliance with the USSR diminishes the effectiveness of the blockade against Germany by at least 25 percent and perhaps considerably more.

To material support it is necessary to add—if this word is in place—moral support. Up to the end of August the Comintern demanded the liberation of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Abyssinia, and was silent about the British colonies. Now the Comintern is silent about Czechoslovakia, supports the division of Poland, but demands the liberation of India. The Moscow *Pravda* attacks the suppression of liberties in Canada but is silent about the bloody executions of Czechs by Hitler and the tortures of Polish Jews. All this means that the Kremlin still has a high appraisal of Germany's strength.

And the Kremlin is right. Germany happened to be, it is true, incapable of launching a "lightning" war against France and Great Britain—but not a single serious person believed in such a possibility. However, the international propaganda which tries to picture Hitler as a lunatic driven up a blind alley is extremely lightminded. Hitler is still far from that. Dynamic industry, technical genius, the spirit of discipline—all this is present; the formidable German military machine will yet reveal itself. At stake is the fate of the country and the regime.

The Polish government and the Czechoslovakian semigovernment are now in France. Who knows whether the French government will not have to seek refuge in Great Britain together with the Belgian, Dutch, Polish, and Czechoslovakian governments? I do not believe for a moment, as I have stated, in the actual realization of Hitler's plans concerning a *Pax Germanica*—that is, world domination. German imperialism arrived too late; its military fury will end in a tremendous catastrophe. But before that catastrophe occurs many things will topple in Europe. Stalin doesn't want to be among them. Above all, he safeguards himself from breaking with Hitler too soon.

The press of the Allies searches for symptoms of "coolness" between the new friends and every day predicts a rupture. It is impossible, indeed, to deny that Molotov does not feel too happy in Ribbentrop's embrace. For several years all internal oppositionists in the USSR were branded, hounded, and executed as agents of the Nazis. Having finished this work, Stalin joined Hitler in a close alliance. Throughout the entire country there are millions of people intimately connected with those who were executed or imprisoned in the concentration

camps because of their alleged alliance with the Nazis, and these millions are now cautious but extremely effective agitators against Stalin. To this it is necessary to add the covert complaints of the Comintern—the unfortunate foreign agents of the Kremlin do not feel at ease. Stalin is undoubtedly attempting to leave open the other possibility. Litvinov was unexpectedly present on the tribune of Lenin's mausoleum on November 7. In the parade, portraits of the secretary of the Comintern, Dimitrov, and the leader of the German Communists, Thaelmann,<sup>110</sup> were carried.

All this, however, is the decorative side of politics, not its substance. Litvinov, as well as the demonstrative portraits, was necessary above all for satisfying the Soviet workers and the Comintern. Only indirectly Stalin thus lets the Allies know that under certain circumstances he can change horses. But only visionaries could imagine that a reversal of the Kremlin's foreign policy is on the order of the day. So long as Hitler remains strong—and he is very strong—Stalin will remain his satellite.

All this may be true, an attentive reader can say, but what about revolution? Doesn't the Kremlin reckon with its possibility, probability, even inevitability? And doesn't speculation on revolution reflect itself in Stalin's foreign policy? The objection is legitimate. Moscow is the last to doubt that a major war will provoke revolution. But war does not begin, it ends with revolution. Before revolution broke out in Germany in 1918, the German army had succeeded in delivering mortal blows against czarism. In the same way, the present war can crush the Kremlin bureaucracy long before revolution breaks out in some capitalist country. Our evaluation of the Kremlin's foreign policy consequently preserves its force independently of the perspective of revolution.

However, in order to orient oneself correctly in the future maneuvers of Moscow and in the evolution of its relations with Berlin, it is necessary to answer the question: Does the Kremlin propose to utilize the war in order to further world revolution, and if so, then how? On November 9 Stalin considered it necessary to reject in an extremely blunt fashion the supposition that he wishes "the war to be prolonged as long as possible until its participants are completely exhausted." In this case Stalin spoke the truth. He does not at all wish a prolonged war, for two reasons: first, it would inevitably draw the USSR into its vortex; second, it would inevitably provoke revolution in Europe. The Kremlin quite legitimately dreads both.

"The internal development of Russia," declare the investigators

for London's Royal Institute, "is tending to throw up a 'bourgeoisie' of managers and officials who possess sufficient privileges to make them highly content with the status quo. . . . It is possible to regard the various purges as part of a process by which all who desire to change the present state of affairs are being rooted out. Such an interpretation lends color to the belief that the revolutionary period in Russia is over, and that henceforward her rulers will only seek to conserve the gains which the revolution has brought them."

This is really well said! Over two years ago I wrote in *Liberty*: "Hitler is fighting against the Franco-Soviet alliance because he wants a free hand for agreement with Moscow against Paris."<sup>111</sup> At the time these words were interpreted as a prejudiced opinion. Events corroborated it.

Moscow realizes very well that war on a major scale will bring an era of immense social and political repercussions. If those in Moscow could seriously hope to control the revolutionary movement and subordinate it to their own interests, Stalin naturally would welcome it. But he understands that revolution is the antithesis of bureaucracy and that it mercilessly sweeps aside the privileged, conservative apparatus. What miserable defeats the bureaucratic clique of the Kremlin suffered in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and in the Spanish revolution of 1931-39! On the wave of a new revolution a new international organization would inevitably arise which would wipe out the Comintern and deal a mortal blow to the authority of the Soviet bureaucracy in its national entrenchment in the USSR.

The Stalinist faction came to power in the struggle against so-called "Trotskyism." Up to now all the purges, all the staged trials, and all the executions were carried out under the label of the struggle against "Trotskyism." Fundamentally, Moscow expresses in this designation the fear of the new oligarchy before the masses. The label of "Trotskyism," conventional in itself, has however taken on an international character already. I cannot help mentioning three recent incidents, because they are very symptomatic of all the political processes engendered by the war, and at the same time clearly disclose the source of the Kremlin's fear of revolution.

In the French yellow book, a conversation is reported between the French ambassador, Coulondre, and Hitler, on August 25, nine days before diplomatic relations were severed. Hitler sputters and boasts about the pact which he concluded with Stalin: "not only a theoretical pact but, I would say, a positive one. I will vanquish, I believe, and you believe you will

vanquish; but what is sure is that German blood and French blood will flow," etc. The French ambassador answers: "If I actually believed that we would be victorious, I would also have the fear that as a result of the war, there would be only one real victor—Mr. Trotsky." Interrupting the ambassador, Hitler shouted: "Why do you then give Poland a blank check?" The personal name, here, of course bears a purely conventional character. But it is not accidental that both the democratic diplomat and the totalitarian dictator designated the specter of revolution by the name of the man whom the Kremlin considers its enemy number one. Both participants in the conversation agree, as if it were self-evident, that revolution will develop under a banner hostile to the Kremlin.

The former Berlin correspondent of the French semi-official paper *Temps*, writing now from Copenhagen, reports in his dispatch of September 24 that under cover of the darkness prevailing in Berlin's black-outs, revolutionary elements have been posting placards in the workers' section with the following slogans: "Down with Hitler and Stalin! Long Live Trotsky!" In this way the most courageous workers of Berlin express their relation to the pact. And revolution will be led by the courageous and not the cowards. Fortunately Stalin is not forced to black-out Moscow. Otherwise the streets of the Soviet capital would be plastered with no less significant slogans.

On the eve of the anniversary of Czech independence, the Protector Baron von Neurath<sup>112</sup> and the Czech government severely banned all demonstrations—"labor agitation in Prague, particularly the threat of a strike, has been branded officially as the work of 'Trotskyite Communists'" (*New York Times*, October 28). I am not at all inclined to exaggerate the role of "Trotskyites" in the Prague demonstrations. But the very fact itself that their role was officially exaggerated explains why the Kremlin rulers are afraid of revolution no less than Coulondre, Hitler, and Baron von Neurath.

But the sovietizing of the Western Ukraine and White Russia (Eastern Poland), like the present attempt to sovietize Finland—are they not acts of socialist revolution? Yes and no. More no than yes. When the Red Army occupies a new province, the Moscow bureaucracy establishes a regime which guarantees its domination. The population has no choice but voting yes to the effected reforms in a totalitarian plebiscite. A "revolution" of this kind is feasible only on army-occupied territory with a scattered or backward population. The new chief of the "Soviet government" in Finland, Otto Kuusinen, is not

a leader of revolutionary masses, but an old Stalinist functionary, one of the Comintern secretaries, with a rigid mind and a flexible spine. This "revolution" can indeed be accepted by the Kremlin. And Hitler has no fear of it.

The Comintern apparatus, composed without exception of Kuusinens and Browders, that is, of careerist functionaries, is absolutely incapable of leading a revolutionary mass movement. But it serves to camouflage the Stalin-Hitler pact with revolutionary phrases in order to dupe the workers in the USSR and abroad. And later it can be utilized as a weapon to blackmail the imperialist democracies.

It is surprising how little the lessons of the Spanish events have been understood. Defending himself from Hitler and Mussolini, who strove to utilize the civil war in Spain in order to construct a bloc of four powers against Bolshevism, Stalin set himself the task of proving to London and Paris that he was capable of eliminating proletarian revolution from Spain and Europe with much greater efficiency than Franco and his backers. Nobody strangled the socialist movement in Spain more mercilessly than Stalin, in those days an archangel of pure democracy. Everything was put into motion: a frenzied campaign of lies and frame-ups, legal falsifications in the spirit of the Moscow trials, systematic assassination of revolutionary leaders. The struggle against the seizure of land and factories by the peasants and workers was conducted, naturally, under the name of the struggle against "Trotskyism."

The civil war in Spain deserves minutest attention, as in many respects it bore the aspects of a rehearsal of the incipient world war. In any event, Stalin is completely ready to repeat his Spanish performance on a worldwide scale, with the hope of better success this time in buying the friendly attitude of the future victors through having proved that no one better than he can curb the Red specter which for terminological convenience will again be labeled "Trotskyism."

For five years the Kremlin conducted a campaign in favor of an alliance among the democracies in order to sell to Hitler at the last moment their love for "collective security and peace." The functionaries of the Comintern received their order, "left face," and immediately dug out of the archives old formulas about socialist revolution. The new "revolutionary" zigzag will probably be shorter than the "democratic" one because wartimes accelerate the tempo of events enormously. But Stalin's fundamental tactical method remains the same: he converts the Comintern into a revolutionary menace to the enemies of to-

morrow in order to exchange it at the decisive moment for a favorable diplomatic combination. There is not the slightest reason to fear resistance from the Browders or from people of his type.

Through its docile correspondents, the Kremlin threatens that in case Italy or Japan joins England and France, Russia will enter the war on Hitler's side, striving at the same time to sovietize Germany. (See, for example, the Moscow dispatch in the *New York Times*, November 12.) Astonishing confession! Through the chain of its "conquests" the Kremlin is already so tied to the chariot of German imperialism that the possible future enemies of Hitler automatically become enemies of Stalin. His probable participation in the war on the side of the Third Reich, Stalin promptly covers with a promise to "sovietize" Germany. After the pattern of Galicia? To accomplish this it would be necessary to occupy Germany with the Red Army. By means of an insurrection of the German workers? But if the Kremlin enjoys this possibility, why does it wait for Italy and Japan to enter the war?

The motive of the inspired correspondence is too clear: to frighten on the one hand Italy and Japan, and on the other England and France—and thereby escape the war. "Don't push me to extremes," Stalin threatens, "or I will commit terrible deeds." This is at least 95 percent bluff and perhaps 5 percent nebulous hope that in case of mortal danger revolution will bring salvation.

The idea of Stalin's sovietizing Germany is as absurd as Chamberlain's hope for the restoration of a peaceful conservative monarchy there. Only a new world coalition can crush the German army through a war of unheard-of proportions. The totalitarian regime can be crushed only by a tremendous attack on the part of the German workers. They will carry out their revolution, surely, not in order to replace Hitler with a Hohenzollern or Stalin.

The victory of the popular masses over the Nazi tyranny will be one of the greatest explosions in world history and will immediately change the face of Europe. The wave of awakening, hope, enthusiasm will not stop at the hermetic borders of the USSR. The popular masses of the Soviet Union hate the greedy and cruel ruling caste. Their hate is only dampened by the idea: imperialism is watching us. Revolution in the West will deprive the Kremlin oligarchy of its sole right to political existence. If Stalin survives his ally Hitler, it will not be for long. The twin stars will fall from the sky.

## LETTER TO THE "NEW YORK TIMES"<sup>113</sup>

December 6, 1939

To the Editor of the *New York Times*

Dear Sir:

On November 25, the *New York Times* published a letter signed by John Stuart Hamilton which begins with the words: "Leon Trotsky's letter in the *Times* is replete with unproved insinuations." A very serious accusation. You will permit me, I hope, to prove that it is false and to unmask in passing some of the methods by which Moscow and her agents bring into misapprehension an important section of public opinion throughout the whole world. This case is extremely favorable because the theoretical and political question touched upon in my letter has been, in and of itself, of great interest to every intelligent person regardless of his ideological tendencies; and because Mr. Hamilton—through ignorance or carelessness—seized a wire highly charged with disagreeable surprises for him as well as for his retainer, Stalin.

My letter contained the affirmation that Lenin and the whole Bolshevik Party without a single exception considered it impossible to build a socialist society in one country, all the more so in one as backward as Russia; and that only at the end of 1924 did Stalin make an about-face of 180 degrees thereby branding his viewpoint of yesterday as "counterrevolutionary Trotskyism." The political reason for Stalin's turn was that the Soviet bureaucracy had succeeded by that time in erecting their own "socialism," that is, in firmly assuring their power and well-being . . . in one country. This question long ago passed the bounds of internal Marxist discussion. It is not possible to understand either the evolution of the ruling party of the USSR or the character of the present Soviet power's foreign policy if clear account is not taken of the question as to how and why Stalin and company broke with the tradition of Bolshe-

vism on the question of the international nature of socialist revolution.

In order to demonstrate that there was no break whatsoever, Mr. Hamilton takes the following quotation from Lenin's article written in 1915: ". . . The victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in a single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would confront the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries . . ." and so on. These lines express nothing more than the elementary idea that the socialist revolution cannot surge up at the same time in all the countries of the world but must inevitably begin "first" in a few or even in a single country.

By the "victory of socialism" Lenin means here, as is clear from the quotation, the conquest of power by the proletariat and the nationalization of the means of production, but not at all the construction of an isolated socialist society. On the contrary, Lenin directly states that the conquest of power would place in the hands of the proletariat means for the development of revolution on an international scale. The whole argument of Mr. Hamilton like that of his Moscow teachers is based upon the identification of the victory of the socialist revolution with the construction of the socialist society. It is a grotesque sophism! More than once we called the October Revolution a great "victory of socialism" but we saw in it only the beginning of a new historic epoch which over a period of generations would transform human society throughout the whole planet. The quotation contains no other meaning.

Is it moreover not astonishing that on the question of the construction of socialism in a single country Mr. Hamilton is incapable of finding anything aside from a falsely interpreted quotation of 1915? Power was conquered by the Bolsheviks in 1917. During the five years in which Lenin remained at the head of the Soviet nation he expressed himself innumerable times in speeches and articles about the conditions for realizing a socialist society. In my *History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. III, pp. 378-418, I gave dozens of Lenin's pronouncements during the years 1917-23. Permit me to quote a few of them here:

When departing for Russia after the February revolution, Lenin wrote in a farewell letter to the Swiss workers: "The Russian proletariat cannot with its own forces victoriously achieve the socialist revolution. But it can . . . improve the

situation in which its chief, its reliable ally, the European and American socialist proletariat, will enter the decisive battle."

On April 23 (1918) he said at a session of the Moscow Soviet: "Our backwardness has pushed us forward, and we shall perish if we cannot hold out until we meet a mighty support on the part of the insurrectionary workers of other countries."

"For us it is easy to begin a revolution and harder to continue it," he said in May (1918). "In the West it is harder to begin a revolution but it will be easier to continue."

On the third anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin confirmed this: "We always staked our plan upon an international revolution and this was unconditionally right. . . . We always emphasized the fact that in one country it is impossible to accomplish such a work as a socialist revolution."

At the tenth congress of the Russian party, March 1921, Lenin explained: "In Russia we have a minority of workers in industry and an enormous majority of petty landowners. In such a country the social revolution could achieve its final success only . . . on condition of its timely support by a social revolution in one or several advanced countries. . . ."

I limit myself to these few quotations not because they are the most striking—far from that—but because they are the shortest.

Mr. Hamilton refers to the fact that Lenin's quotation of 1915 is "familiar" to me and that consequently I am hiding it consciously from the readers of the *New York Times*. As a matter of fact, I am acquainted not only with this quotation but with Lenin's work in general and with his whole historical conception. For the agents of the Kremlin, Lenin is reduced to a falsified quotation from 1915. The thing went so far that Prosecutor Vyshinsky introduced the 1915 quotation in his indictment against me and others.<sup>114</sup>

This necessarily made it the object of a special research by the Commission of Dr. John Dewey in its investigation of the Moscow trials. One can disagree with John Dewey and his collaborators in the sphere of philosophy and politics—that is precisely the case with me—but there is scarcely one reasonable man in the world who would dare to deny the outstanding intellectual honesty of John Dewey, without mentioning his capacity to analyze textual matters. His collaborators, Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, John Chamberlain, Suzanne LaFollette, and the others are people of high intellectual and moral qualifications. A more authoritative inves-

tigation, especially for American public opinion, could not have been made. Here are the findings of the Commission on this particular point:

"Lenin's article (1915) . . . can be taken to mean that socialism can be definitively established in a single country only if one leaves out the crucial phrase 'at the beginning' [or 'first' in the quotation cited by Mr. Hamilton] and wrenches the quotation from its context in the matter under discussion: (2) that Trotsky and Lenin are in essential agreement that the socialist revolution can *begin* on a national basis but that it will be completed internationally. . . ."

And further: "A careful study of the relevant historical material has convinced this Commission that Lenin's actual view on this subject was that while the socialist revolution could triumph initially in a single country, it could not be ultimately successful without the aid of successful socialist revolutions elsewhere. . . . We are not in the least concerned with the correctness of Lenin's view. What does concern us is (1) that the *Prosecutor falsified Lenin's position*; and (2) that Trotsky, far from opposing Lenin on the question of 'socialism in one country' was in essential agreement with him. Obviously, if Trotsky had not held this position he would have opposed instead of vigorously supporting the October Revolution" (My emphasis—L.T. *Not Guilty*: Report of the Dewey Commission [Monad Press, New York], pp. 343, 348).

Mr. Hamilton thus has only repeated the long-ago unmasked falsification of Prosecutor Vyshinsky.

The initiative for the falsification belongs however not to Vyshinsky but to Stalin. In April 1924 in a pamphlet entitled *Foundations of Leninism* Stalin wrote: "The overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country alone does not, *per se*, mean the complete victory of socialism. The chief task, the organization of socialist production, still lies ahead. Can this task be performed, can the final victory of socialism be gained, in one country alone, and without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several of the most advanced countries? No, this is out of the question. The history of the Russian Revolution shows that the proletarian strength of one country alone can overthrow the bourgeoisie of that country. But for the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the strength of one country (especially a peasant country, such as Russia) does not suffice. For this, the united strength of the proletarians in several of the most advanced countries

is needed" (*Foundations of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin [New York: International Publishers, 1928] pp. 52-53).

Stalin concluded this explanation with the words: "Such, in broad outline, are the characteristics of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution."

By the end of the same year he changed this explanation to read as follows: "Having consolidated its power, and taking the lead of the peasantry, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society." Can and must! And this diametrically contradictory explanation of Lenin's position ends with the same words: "Such, in broad outline, are the characteristics of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution." Thus during the elapse of half a year Stalin ascribed to Lenin two diametrically opposed conceptions on the most fundamental question of revolution. Yagoda, the chief of the GPU, was commissioned to prove the correctness of the new point of view.<sup>115</sup>

Mr. Hamilton tried to accuse me of the concealment of one quotation from Lenin—we have just seen with what success. I accuse the Comintern school not of the concealment of one quotation but of the systematic falsification of ideas, facts, quotations in the interests of the Kremlin ruling clique. A codified collection of such a series of falsifications, *The History of the Communist Party of the USSR*, has been translated into all the languages of civilized mankind, and published in the USSR and abroad in tens of millions of copies. I take upon myself to prove before any impartial commission that in the library of humanity there is not a single book more dishonest than this "history" which serves now not only as the basis of political propaganda but also as the directive for Soviet painting, sculpture, theater, films, and so on. Unfortunately one can be certain in advance that my opponents will not accept my challenge.

L. Trotsky

## THE DIES COMMITTEE<sup>116</sup>

December 7, 1939

In the Mexican press yesterday, dispatches from the United States reported that I might appear as a witness before the Dies Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States and make depositions concerning the activities of the Mexican and Latin American Communists, particularly in connection with the oil question.<sup>117</sup> These dispatches are so worded as to imply that for several years I have turned documents over to the agents of this committee, that I was visited in Mexico by the committee's representatives, and so on. These implications represent a pure invention from beginning to end.

On October 12, I received the following telegram from the committee:

"Leon Trotsky, Mexico City,

"Dies Committee of the United States House of Representatives invites you to appear as witness before it in the city of Austin, Texas. City designated with view to your personal convenience. . . . The Committee desires to have a complete record of the history of Stalinism and invites you to answer questions which can be submitted to you in advance if you so desire. Your name has been mentioned frequently by such witnesses as Browder and Foster.<sup>118</sup> This Committee will accord you opportunity to answer their charges. . . .

"J. B. Matthews, Chief Investigator, Special Committee on Un-American Activities."

Independently of the political tendency of the chairman of this committee, I could not find it permissible to avoid appearing as a witness in a public investigation. My answer was:

"I accept your invitation as a political duty. . . ."

It was a matter thus of my testimony about the "history of Stalinism" but in no case about the inner life of the Latin

American countries. I have never had and I don't have a single document concerning the activities of the Latin American Communists or the oil question, and I could in no way present anything on this before the committee. None of its representatives have visited me in Mexico. I have never had and I don't have any connection with the unmasking of the real or pretended plans of the Latin American Communists.

If I should actually have to appear as a witness before the Dies Committee of the House of Representatives it would be upon the questions specified in the above-quoted telegram bearing the signature of Mr. Matthews. All the rest represents, as I have said, the product of a fabrication.

## **WHY I CONSENTED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE DIES COMMITTEE<sup>119</sup>**

**December 11, 1939**

Why did I agree to appear before the Dies Committee? Naturally not in order to facilitate the realization of Mr. Dies's political aims, particularly the passing of federal laws against one or another extremist "party." Being an irreconcilable opponent not only of fascism but also of the present-day Comintern, I am at the same time decidedly against the suppression of either of them.

The outlawing of fascist groups would inevitably have a fictitious character: as reactionary organizations they can easily change color and adapt themselves to any kind of organizational form since the influential sections of the ruling class and of the governmental apparatus sympathize considerably with them and these sympathies inevitably increase during times of political crisis.

As for the Comintern, suppression could only help this completely degenerated and compromised organization. The difficulty in the Comintern's situation is a result of the irreconcilable contradiction between the international workers' movement and the interests of the Kremlin ruling clique. After all its zigzags and deceptions, the Comintern has obviously entered its period of decomposition. The suppression of the Communist Party would immediately re-establish its reputation in the eyes of the workers as a persecuted fighter against the ruling classes.

However, the question is not exhausted by this consideration. Under the conditions of the bourgeois regime, all suppression of political rights and freedom, no matter whom they are directed against in the beginning, in the end inevitably bear down upon the working class, particularly its most advanced elements. That is a law of history. The workers must learn how to distinguish between their friends and their ene-

mies according to their own judgment and not according to the hints of the police.

It is not difficult to predict an ad hominem objection: "But just that Soviet government in which you yourself took part proscribed all political parties except the Bolsheviks?" Entirely correct; and to this day I am ready to bear responsibility for its actions. But one cannot identify the laws of civil war with the laws of peaceful periods; the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the laws of bourgeois democracy.

If one considered Abraham Lincoln's policy exclusively from the point of view of civil liberties, then the great president would not appear very favorably. In justification of course he could say that he was compelled to apply civil war measures in order to cleanse the democracy of slavery. Civil war is a state of tense social crisis. One or another dictatorship, inevitably growing out of the conditions of civil war, appears fundamentally as an exception to the rule, a temporary regime.

It is true that the dictatorship in the Soviet Union did not die out, but on the contrary took on monstrous totalitarian forms. This is explained by the fact that out of the revolution arose a new privileged caste which is incapable of maintaining its regime except through measures of a hidden civil war. It was precisely over this question that I broke with the Kremlin ruling clique. I was defeated because the working class, as a result of internal and external conditions, showed itself to be too weak to liquidate its own bureaucracy. I have, however, no doubt that the working class will liquidate it.

But whatever the situation in the USSR may be, the working class in the capitalist countries, threatened with their own enslavement, must stand in defense of freedom for all political tendencies including their own irreconcilable enemies. That is why I do not feel the slightest sympathy for the aims of the Dies Committee.

I don't have to explain that I did not come here in order to defend "American activities" against "un-American activities." I am rather badly prepared for that task. Even worse, all my attempts to understand just what Americanism consists of that it must be defended, have led to nothing up to this day. America's great contribution to the treasures of humanity can be described in one word: technology. This Americanism is evident and generally accepted.

But the question still remains, however, how to apply American technology in the interests of humanity. We hear from

Harold Ickes, Homer Cummings, Lewis Douglas, and other outstanding representatives of the present regime<sup>120</sup> that economic monopolies contradict the ideas of democracy. However, nowhere in the world has the rule of monopolies attained such power as in the United States. Where are we to look for Americanism: in abstract ideas or in the reality that contradicts them? Further, is chronic unemployment an American or an un-American phenomenon?

Those circumscribing laws which Mr. Dies defends have a long history in the European countries where they began the transitional period from democratic to totalitarian regimes during the last twenty years. The representatives of the Youth Congress openly accused the Dies Committee of scorning "Americanism."<sup>121</sup> It would take me, a foreigner, at least a year to study this complicated problem; but I don't know whether such a prolonged sojourn in the United States is compatible with the principles of "Americanism."

It is necessary to recognize, of course, that the Comintern itself to a great extent prepared this persecution against it. For several years it systematically demanded that its political enemies of the left be repressed by the democratic governments. This shameful behavior gave us the possibility to predict a long time ago that in the end the Comintern itself would be caught in the trap it was preparing for others. And so it happened. Browder didn't weary of demanding police measures against the so-called "Trotskyites." In the end the police proceeded impolitely against Browder himself.

We are not vengeful in this respect. His utilization of a false passport does not fill us with pious horror. I happened to use a false passport myself in the struggle against czarism and reaction of all kinds. The misfortune does not consist in the fact that Browder succeeded once or twice in deceiving the fascist or other police, but in the fact that Browder is systematically deceiving the American workers. The struggle against this deception is an elementary political task. A Congressional committee is just as suitable for this fight as the workers' press and the national legislative bodies.

I give no support, however, to those leaders of unions and "labor parties" who, inspired by their patriotic sentiments, are excluding communists from their organizations. I consider this policy as harmful as repressive laws against the Communist Party. A union can carry out its task only insofar as it is constructed on the principles of workers' democracy. It is easy to drive out the Stalinists by bureaucratic measures. It is more

difficult to liberate the workers from confidence in them. But only this second road can cure the workers' movement and lead it to a higher stage.

The Comintern has lied, deceived, and committed treason to such an extent that the open truth is the sharpest weapon against it. It is just this task which I have taken upon myself—to tell the truth about the activities of the Kremlin and the Comintern. I do not promise any sensational revelations. But they are not necessary. What new revelations could surpass the proceedings of the Moscow trials, the liquidation of the Old Bolshevik Guard, the liquidation of the Red Generals, the sudden alliance with Hitler, and the scandalous zigzags of the Comintern under the whip of the Kremlin? But I can help to assemble all the different parts of this picture into one whole and to disclose its internal meaning.

When the workers understand the reactionary historical role of Stalinism, they will themselves turn away from it with aversion. In order to help the workers in this I agreed to appear before the Dies Committee.

## ON DIES BACKING DOWN<sup>122</sup>

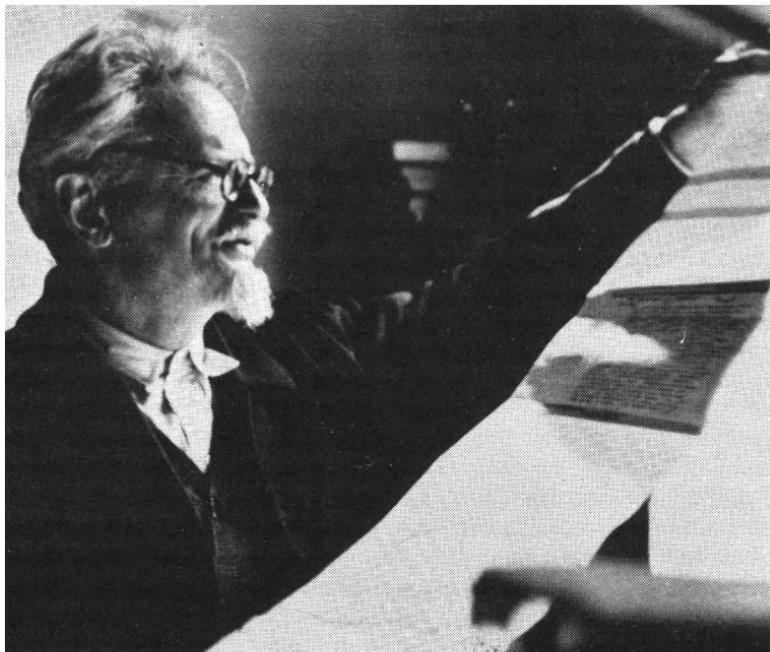
December 12, 1939

Mr. Dies's declaration December 12 on the reasons for his dropping the plan to have Trotsky come to the United States is absolutely false. Dies claims that he "failed to receive assurances from Mexico that Trotsky would be permitted to return to Mexico." Nobody is obliged to furnish such assurances to Mr. Dies, who is neither the president of the United States, nor the secretary of state, nor a consular official. The United States consul in Mexico was given full assurances in written form by the Secretaria de Gobernacion of Mexico that I may go freely to the United States and return to this country. Dies's attempt to unload the responsibility for his change of mind upon the Mexican government is completely disloyal.

I was invited on October 12 by the committee to appear before it at Austin, Texas, on November 12. I immediately requested two collaborators from the United States to help me locate the necessary documents, quotations, dates, to translate them into English, and so on, because I considered the role and duty of a witness in a case of such importance as very serious.

On November 2, the representative of the committee, J. B. Matthews, informed my attorney, Mr. Goldman, that the hearings had been postponed to December between the tenth and fifteenth, but assured him at the same time that my appearance was assured "one hundred percent." Mr. Goldman, in full agreement with me, explained to Mr. Matthews, the chief investigator of the committee, that my political aims of course had nothing in common with the reactionary political aims of Mr. Dies, that the only thing I could promise was to speak the truth. I am afraid that this was the reason why Mr. Dies dropped his plan. If I wished to give this a severe but authoritative characterization, I would call it a "sordid procedure."

Mr. Dies says that he may send an investigator to Mexico to "take Trotsky's statement." But I never invited his representative to Mexico, irrespective as to whether or not he presented me with an assurance that he would be permitted to return to the United States. I agreed only to make a public deposition before a committee of the House of Representatives with the full possibility of elucidating all obscure questions through cross-examination. If Mr. Dies wishes my opinions in written form only, he can read my books.



Trotsky holding galley proofs to his biography of Stalin.

## NOT BEHIND CLOSED DOORS<sup>123</sup>

**December 17, 1939**

It is absolutely false that I am now answering questions put to me by Mr. Matthews, chief investigator of the so-called Dies Committee. I have neither the slightest knowledge of Mr. Matthews's whereabouts nor the slightest connection with him. I accepted and I am ready to accept again the invitation of the committee of the House of Representatives to appear as a witness before it in order to give the American public correct information about questions which are probably more familiar to me than any other person. But I never accepted and I don't accept any invitation to discuss these questions with Mr. Dies or Mr. Matthews behind closed doors.

## MORE SLANDER AROUND THE DIES COMMITTEE<sup>124</sup>

January 12, 1940

In the meeting sponsored by the Stalinists on the tenth of this month in the Hidalgo Theater, the speakers, and particularly Mr. Ford, who had recently arrived from the United States,<sup>125</sup> spoke of the machinations of Congressman Dies against Mexico, and mentioned my name as a person seconding the plans of this man. I feel it incumbent upon me to state that these speakers have again deliberately lied. I attach copies of my correspondence with the Dies Committee, in which one can see that Mexico is not even mentioned once.

The U. S. congressional committee intended to invite me as a witness for their investigation into the history of Stalinism and into the false testimony made about me by the North American Stalinist leaders Browder and Foster.

It takes no great mental effort to understand that I could have no principled or personal motives to aid the American petroleum magnates, whose interests Dies defends, against the Mexican people. Moreover, as is well known, the chairman of the Dies Committee, understanding that he couldn't get any help from me for his reactionary ends, retracted his invitation.

The recent inventions of the GPU agents fall in the same category as their previous charges about my participation in the alleged strike movement against Gen. Cardenas's government; about my connections with Gen. Cedillo; about my secret meeting in Morelia with Dr. Atl;<sup>126</sup> about my ties with reactionary Mexican Jewish capitalists; and finally, about my secret participation in the current presidential campaign.

Upon setting foot on Mexican soil, I voluntarily pledged not to intervene in the domestic or foreign politics of this country. Anyone who maintains the contrary is deliberately lying.

Perhaps these deceitful gentlemen will finally accept my old offer: to place this entire series of slanders before a public commission composed of impartial and trusted public figures. I pose this question openly: Yes or no?

## THE WORLD SITUATION AND PERSPECTIVES<sup>127</sup>

February 14, 1940

*Question:* What is your opinion of the German-Russian alliance? Did Stalin have to make it? If so, what could he earlier have done to avoid it? Russia, in going into the Baltic states and Finland, contended it was compelled to do so to properly defend itself against aggression. Do you believe there was any likelihood of Nazi aggression? Do you believe there was any likelihood of an attack by the capitalist democracies?

*Answer:* Foreign policy is an extension and development of domestic policy. In order to understand correctly the Kremlin foreign policy, it is always necessary to take into account two factors: on the one hand, the position of the USSR in capitalist encirclement and, on the other, the position of the ruling bureaucracy within the Soviet society. The bureaucracy defends the USSR. But above all it defends itself inside the USSR. The internal position of the bureaucracy is incomparably more vulnerable than the international position of the USSR. The bureaucracy is merciless against its disarmed adversaries inside the country. But it is extremely cautious and sometimes even cowardly before its well-armed external enemies. If the Kremlin enjoyed the support of the popular masses and had confidence in the solidity of the Red Army, it could assume a more independent position in relation to both imperialist camps. However, reality is different. The isolation of the totalitarian bureaucracy in its own country threw it into the arms of the nearest, the most aggressive, and therefore the most dangerous imperialism.

Already in 1934 Hitler said to Rauschning:<sup>128</sup> "I can conclude an agreement with Soviet Russia whenever I wish." He had categorical assurances on this account from the Kremlin itself. The former chief of the foreign GPU agency, General Krivitsky, revealed extremely interesting details of the relations between Moscow and Berlin. But, for the sensitive reader

of the Soviet press, the Kremlin's real plans have been no secret since 1933. Above all Stalin was afraid of a great war. In order to escape it, he became an irreplaceable aid to Hitler.

However it would be incorrect to conclude that the five-year campaign of Moscow in favor of a "united front of the democracies" and "collective security" (1935-39) was a pure swindle as is represented now by the same Kravitzky who saw from the quarters of the GPU only one side of the Moscow policy, not perceiving it in its entirety. While Hitler spurned the extended hand, Stalin was compelled to prepare seriously the other alternative, that is, an alliance with the imperialist democracies. The Comintern naturally did not understand what was involved; it simply made "democratic" noises, carrying out the instructions.

On the other hand, Hitler could not turn his face toward Moscow while he needed the friendly neutrality of England. The specter of Bolshevism was necessary, above all, in order to prevent the British Conservatives from eyeing with suspicion the rearmament of Germany. Baldwin and Chamberlain went even further;<sup>129</sup> they directly aided Hitler in forming Greater Germany as a powerful base in Central Europe for worldwide aggression.

Hitler's turn toward Moscow in the middle of the past year had a substantial basis. From Great Britain Hitler had received all that was possible. One could not expect Chamberlain to grant Hitler Egypt and India in addition to Czechoslovakia. Further expansion of German imperialism could be directed only against Great Britain itself. The Polish question became a turning point. Italy stepped cautiously aside. Count Ciano explained in December 1939 that the Italo-German military alliance, signed ten months before, excluded the entrance of the totalitarian allies into a war within the next three years.<sup>130</sup> However, Germany, under the pressure of its own armaments, could not wait. Hitler assured his Anglo-Saxon cousin that the annexation of Poland was on the road to the East and only to the East. But his conservative adversaries grew tired of being duped. War became inevitable. Under these conditions Hitler had no choice: he played his last trump, an alliance with Moscow. Stalin finally attained the handshake of which he had dreamt unceasingly for six years.

Frequent assurances in the democratic press that Stalin deliberately sought to provoke a world war by his alliance with Hitler are to be considered absurd. The Soviet bureaucracy fears a great war more than any ruling class in the world: it has little to win but everything to lose. Counting on

the world revolution? But even if the thoroughly conservative oligarchy of the Kremlin were striving for the revolution, it knows very well that war does not begin with revolution, but ends with it, and that the Moscow bureaucracy itself will be thrown into an abyss before the revolution comes in the capitalist countries.

During the Moscow negotiations of the past year, the delegates of Great Britain and France played a rather pitiful role. "Do you see these gentlemen?" the German agents asked the rulers of the Kremlin. "If we divide Poland together, they will not so much as move their little finger." While signing the agreement Stalin, with his political limitations, could expect that there would not be any great war. In any case, he bought himself the possibility of escaping for the next period the necessity of involvement in a war. And nobody knows what is beyond the "next period."

The invasions of Poland and of the Baltic countries were the inevitable result of the alliance with Germany. It would be rather childish to think that the collaboration of Stalin and Hitler is founded on mutual confidence; these gentlemen understand each other too well. During the Moscow negotiations last summer, the German danger could and had to appear not only very real but also quite immediate. Not without Ribbentrop's influence, as was said, the Kremlin supposed that England and France would not make a move against the accomplished fact of the subjugation of Poland and that consequently Hitler might gain a free hand for further expansion toward the East. Under these conditions the alliance with Germany was completed by material guarantees taken by Russia against its ally. Quite probably the initiative even in this sphere belonged to the dynamic partner, that is Hitler, who proposed to the cautious and temporizing Stalin that he take guarantees by force of arms.

Naturally, the occupation of Eastern Poland and the formation of military bases in the Baltic did not create absolute obstacles for the German offensive: the experience of the last war (1914-18) testifies sufficiently to this. However, the moving of the border to the west and the control over the eastern Baltic coast represent indubitable strategic advantages. Thus in his alliance with Hitler and on Hitler's initiative, Stalin decided to take "guarantees" against Hitler.

Not less important were the considerations of internal policy. After five years of uninterrupted agitation against fascism, after the elimination of the Old Guard Bolsheviks and of the general staff for their alleged alliance with the Nazis, the

unexpected alliance with Hitler was extremely unpopular in the country. It was necessary to justify it with immediate and brilliant successes. The annexation of the Western Ukraine and White Russia and the peaceful conquest of strategic positions in the Baltic states were designed to prove to the population the wisdom of the foreign policy of "the father of nations." Finland upset these plans a bit.

*Question:* Do you, as the former head of the Red Armies, feel it was necessary for the Soviets to move into the Baltic states, Finland, and Poland, to better defend themselves against aggression? Do you believe that a socialist state is justified in extending socialism to a neighbor state by force of arms?

*Answer:* It cannot be doubted that control over the military bases on the Baltic coast represents strategical advantages. But this alone cannot determine the question of invasion of neighboring states. The defense of an isolated workers' state depends much more on the support of the laboring masses all over the world than on two or three supplementary strategical points. This is proven incontrovertibly by the history of foreign intervention in our civil war of 1918-20.

Robespierre said that people do not like missionaries with bayonets. Naturally that does not exclude the right and duty to give military aid from without to peoples rebelling against oppression. For example in 1919 when the Entente strangled the Hungarian revolution,<sup>131</sup> we naturally had the right to help Hungary by military measures. This aid would have been understood and justified by the laboring masses of the world. Unfortunately we were too weak. . . . At present the Kremlin is much stronger from a military point of view. However, it has lost the confidence of the masses both inside the country and abroad.

If there were Soviet democracy in the USSR; if the technological progress were accompanied by the increase of socialist equality; if the bureaucracy were withering away, giving place to the self-government of the masses, Moscow would represent such a tremendous power of attraction, particularly for its nearest neighbors, that the present world catastrophe would inevitably throw the masses of Poland (not only Ukrainians and White Russians but also Poles and Jews) as well as the masses of the Baltic border states on to the road of union with the USSR.

At present this important pre-condition for revolutionary intervention exists, if at all, in a very small degree. The

strangling of the peoples of the USSR, particularly of the national minorities, by police methods, repelled the majority of the toiling masses of the neighboring countries from Moscow. The invasion of the Red Army is seen by the populations not as an act of liberation but as an act of violence, and thereby facilitates the mobilization of world public opinion against the USSR by the imperialist powers. That is why it will bring in the last instance more harm than advantages to the USSR.

*Question:* What is your opinion of the Finnish campaign from the military standpoint: as to strategy, equipment, leadership, both military and political, the matter of keeping up communications and the general training of the Red troops? What is likely to be the result of the Finnish campaign?

*Answer:* As far as I can judge, the strategical plan abstractly considered was sufficiently correct; but it underestimated Finland's power to resist and it ignored such details as the Finnish winter, conditions of transportation, supplies and sanitation. In his satirical verse on the Crimean campaign of 1855 the young officer Leo Tolstoy wrote:

Easily written on paper,  
But the gullies forgotten.  
And we had to march in them.

Stalin's decapitated and demoralized general staff repeats textually the strategists of Nicholas I.

On November 15 I wrote to the editor of one of the most widely read American weeklies: "During the next period, Stalin will remain Hitler's satellite. During the coming winter he will in all probability make no moves. With Finland, he will conclude a compromise." Facts showed that my prognosis was incorrect on this final point. The error was provoked by the fact that I ascribed to the Kremlin more political and military sense than it demonstrated in reality. Finnish resistance, it is true, placed the prestige of the Kremlin at stake not only in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, but also in the Balkans and Japan. Having said A, Stalin was compelled to say B. But even from the point of view of his own ends and methods, he didn't have to attack Finland *immediately*. A more patient policy could never have compromised the Kremlin as much as have its shameful defeats in the course of eleven weeks.

Moscow discovers now that no one expected a rapid victory

and makes references to the frost and blizzards. Astonishing argument! If Stalin and Voroshilov cannot read military maps, they can, one should expect, read the calendar; the Finnish climate could not have been a secret to them. Stalin is capable of utilizing energetically a situation that has ripened without his active participation, when the advantages are without question and the risk at a minimum. He is a man of the apparatus. War and revolution are not his element. When foresight and initiative are necessary, Stalin knows only defeat. Such was the case in China, Germany, and Spain. Such is the case in Finland.

Not the physical climate of Finland is decisive, but the political climate of the USSR. In the Russian *Bulletin* edited by me,<sup>132</sup> I published in September 1938 an article in which I subjected to an analysis the causes of the weakening and direct decomposition of the Red Army. It clarifies sufficiently, according to my opinion, both the present failures of the Red Army and the growing difficulties in industry. All the contradictions and defects of the regime always find a concentrated expression in the army. The enmity between the laboring masses and the bureaucracy corrodes the army from within. Personal independence, free investigation, and free criticism are no less necessary for the army than for the economy. Meanwhile the Red Army officers are put under the control of political police in the form of careerist commissars. Independent and talented commanders are being exterminated; the others are destined to constant fear. In such an artificial organism as the army where preciseness of rights and duties is inevitable, nobody in reality knows what is permissible and what is taboo. The thieves and chiselers operate behind a patriotic front of denunciations. Honest people become disheartened. Alcoholism spreads more and more widely. Chaos reigns in the military supplies.

Parades celebrated on Red Square are one thing, the war is quite another. The planned "military stroll" into Finland converted itself into a merciless accounting of all aspects of the totalitarian regime. It uncovered the bankruptcy of the leadership and the inadequacy of the high commanding staff appointed because of its servility rather than for its talent and knowledge. Besides, the war uncovered an extreme lack of proportion in the different branches of Soviet economy, in particular the poor state of transportation and various kinds of military supplies, especially of provisions and clothing. The Kremlin constructed, not without success, tanks and planes, but neglected sanitation, gloves, and boots. The living man

who stands behind all machines was completely forgotten by the bureaucracy.

The question of whether the defense of "one's own" from foreign invasion or an offensive against another country is involved, has an immense and in some cases decisive importance for the mood of the army and nation. For an offensive revolutionary war a genuine enthusiasm, extremely high confidence in the leadership, and great skill in the soldier are necessary. Nothing of this was shown in the war Stalin undertook without technical and moral preparation.

The final result of the struggle is predetermined by the relation of forces. The half million of the Red Army will strangle the Finnish army in the end if the Soviet-Finnish war does not resolve itself in the next few weeks into a general European war, or if Stalin does not find himself forced to compromise, i.e., to retreat through fear of British, French, Swedish intervention. Possibly the shift in the military situation will come about even before these lines appear in the press. In the first case the Kremlin, as has occurred already during the ephemeral successes in the beginning of December, will try to supplement the military aggression by a civil war inside Finland. In order to include Finland in the framework of the USSR—and such is now the obvious aim of the Kremlin—it is necessary to sovietize her, i.e., carry through an expropriation of the higher layer of landowners and capitalists. To accomplish such a revolution in the relations of property is impossible without a civil war. The Kremlin will do everything in order to attract to its side the Finnish industrial workers and the lower stratum of the farmers. Once the Moscow oligarchy finds itself compelled to play with the fire of war and revolution, it will try at least to warm its hands. It will undoubtedly achieve certain successes in this way.

But one thing can be said now with assurance: no subsequent successes can blot out from world consciousness what has happened so far. The Finnish adventure already has provoked a radical re-evaluation of the specific weight of the Red Army which had been extraordinarily idealized by some foreign journalists devoted—we suppose disinterestedly—to the Kremlin. All partisans of a crusade against the Soviets will find in the military failures of the Kremlin a serious argument. Undoubtedly the impertinence of Japan will increase and that may create difficulties along the road toward a Soviet-Japanese agreement which actually constitutes one of the main tasks of the Kremlin. Already one can assert that if exaggeration of the *offensive* capacities of the Red Army characterized the former period,

now begins a period of underestimation of its *defensive* strength.

It is possible to foresee also other consequences of the Soviet-Finnish war. The monstrous centralization of the entire industry and commerce from top to bottom, such as the compulsory collectivization of agriculture, was determined not by the needs of socialism but by the greed of the bureaucracy to have everything without exception in its hands. This repugnant and by no means necessary violence against the economy and the man, that disclosed itself clearly enough in the Moscow "sabotage" trials, found its cruel punishment in the Finnish snow drifts. It is quite possible, consequently, that under the influence of military failures the bureaucracy will be compelled to make an economic retreat. It is possible to expect the reestablishment of a kind of NEP,<sup>133</sup> that is, of the controlled market economy on the new, higher economic level. Whether the bureaucracy will succeed in saving itself by these measures is another matter.

*Question:* What would be the wisest action for Stalin to take today in Rumania, considering the possible political, social, and military implications?

*Answer:* I think that the Kremlin itself, particularly after the Finnish experience, will consider in the next period as "wisest" not to touch Rumania. Stalin can move against the Balkans only in agreement with Hitler, only in order to aid Hitler—at least as long as Hitler's strength is not undermined and this is not at all near. At present Hitler needs peace in the Balkans in order to obtain raw materials and to maintain his ambiguous friendship with Italy.

From both a military and a political point of view, Rumania is another edition of Poland, if not worse. The same semi-feudal oppression of peasants, the same cynical persecution of national minorities, the same mixture of lightmindedness, impertinence, and cowardliness inside the ruling stratum personified by the king himself. However, if the initiative of the new Entente compels Hitler and Stalin to upset the unstable peace of the Balkans, the Red Army will enter Rumania with slogans of agrarian revolution and probably with greater success than in Finland.

*Question:* What can or must Stalin do in the Balkans generally, in the light of present events? In Persia? In Afghanistan?

*Answer:* The Soviet armed forces have to be ready to de-

fend a vast area with insufficient means of communication. The world situation dictates the necessity not of dispersing the army in separate adventures but of maintaining it in powerful concentrations. If, however, Great Britain and France—with some cooperation from Germany—consider it necessary to undertake a war against the Soviet Union, the situation will be radically changed. In this case it is not excluded that the Soviet cavalry may try to invade India through Afghanistan: technically the task is not unrealizable. The former sergeant-major of the czarist army, Budenny,<sup>134</sup> may be destined by history to ride a white horse in the role of "liberator" of India. But this is in any case a rather distant perspective.

*Question:* Considering Russia's vastness and its numerous borders and actual and potential enemies, what is its immediate future?

*Answer:* The invasion of Finland indubitably provokes a silent condemnation by the majority of the population in the USSR. However at the same time the minority understands and the majority feels that behind the Finnish question, as behind the question of the errors and crimes of the Kremlin, stands the problem of the existence of the USSR. Its defeat in the world war would signify the crushing not only of the totalitarian bureaucracy but also of the planned state economy; it would convert the country into a colonial booty for the imperialist states. The peoples of the USSR themselves have to crush the hated bureaucracy; they cannot bestow this task on either Hitler or Chamberlain. The question is whether, as a result of the present war, the entire world economy will be reconstructed on a planned scale, or whether the first attempt of this reconstruction will be crushed in a sanguinary convulsion, and imperialism will receive a new lease on life until the third world war, which can become the tomb of civilization.

*Question:* The Soviets are generally credited with having made a strong defense and having, in effect, defeated the Japanese at Changkufeng in the summer of 1938. Do you believe this was a test case of Soviet arms and, if so, do you believe it caused Hitler to look in other directions than the Ukraine?

*Answer:* The Red Army, as was said above, is incompa-

rably more powerful on the defensive than on the offensive. Besides, the popular masses, particularly in the Far East, understand well what Japanese domination would mean for them. However, it would be incorrect, following the Kremlin and the foreign correspondents attached to it, to overestimate the importance of the fighting at Changkufeng.

In the past years I have referred several times to the fact that the Japanese army is the army of a decomposing regime and has many traits resembling the czarist army on the eve of the revolution. Conservative governments and general staffs overrate the army and navy of the Mikado in the same way they overrated the army and navy of the czar. The Japanese can be successful only against backward and half-disarmed China. They will not endure a long war against a serious adversary. The success of the Red Army near Changkufeng thus has a limited significance for its evaluation. I don't think that this episode had any influence on Hitler's strategical plans. His turn to Moscow was determined by much nearer and more powerful factors.

*Question:* Concerning the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—what do you think of the rank and file of the party? You have said that the leadership of the party does not follow Marxist-Leninist lines. Do you believe, if that leadership were removed, that the party would proceed in the socialization of Russia, and to what extent do you believe Russia already has been socialized? Is it possible for the Russian people to change leadership now without violence? If a change in the leadership were made, would it lay Russia open to attack from other powers? Would it risk the loss of what the people have gained?

*Answer:* Our differences with the leadership of the so-called Communist Party of the USSR ceased a long time ago to carry a theoretical character. The "Marxist-Leninist" line is not at all the issue now. We accuse the ruling clique of having transformed itself into a new aristocracy, oppressing and robbing the masses. The bureaucracy answers with accusations that we are agents of Hitler (yesterday) or agents of Chamberlain and Wall Street (as of today). All this bears very little resemblance to theoretical differences between Marxists.

It is about time that serious people cast aside the spectacles which the professional "friends of the USSR" put on the nose of radical public opinion. It is about time to understand that

the present Soviet oligarchy has nothing in common with the old Bolshevik Party which was a party of the oppressed. Degeneration of the ruling party, supplemented by bloody purges, was the result of the backwardness of the country and the isolation of the revolution. It is true that the social upheaval brought important economic successes. Nevertheless the productivity of labor in the USSR is five, eight, and ten times lower than in the United States. The immense bureaucracy devours a lion's share of the modest national income. The second part is consumed by the armed forces. As before, the people are compelled to fight for a piece of bread. The bureaucracy plays the role of distributor of goods and retains the choicest morsels for itself. The higher layer of the bureaucracy lives approximately the same kind of life as the well-to-do bourgeois of the United States and other capitalist countries.

Twelve to fifteen millions of the privileged—these are the "people" who organize the parades, demonstrations, and ovations which create such an enormous impression on liberal and radical tourists. But apart from this "*pays legal*" as was once said in France, there exist one hundred and sixty millions who are profoundly discontented.

What is the evidence? If the bureaucracy had the confidence of the people, it would strive to maintain at least its own constitution; in reality it tramples it underfoot. Antagonism between the bureaucracy and the people is measured by the increasing severity of the totalitarian rule.

Nobody can say with certainty—not even themselves—what is wanted by the two millions of Communists who are doomed to silence by the Kremlin with even greater brutality than the rest of the population. However there can be no basis for doubting that the overwhelming majority of the Communists and the population do not wish the return of capitalism, particularly now when capitalism has thrown humanity into a new war.

The bureaucracy can be crushed only by a new political revolution that will preserve the nationalized means of production and the planned economy and will establish on this basis a Soviet democracy of a much higher type. This profound transformation would increase immensely the authority of the Soviet Union among the laboring masses all over the world and would make practically impossible a war of the imperialist countries against it.

*Question:* If you had been the leader of the Soviet state, what would have been your international policy from the time Hitler came into power in Germany thereby adding German

fascism to Italian fascism to form a fascist bloc in Europe?

*Answer:* I consider this question internally contradictory. I could not have been the "leader" of the present Soviet state: only Stalin is fit for this role. I did not lose power personally and accidentally, but due to the fact that the revolutionary epoch was superseded by a reactionary one. After prolonged efforts and innumerable victims, the masses, tired and disillusioned, retreated. The vanguard became isolated. A new, privileged caste concentrated the power in its hands and Stalin, who before played a secondary role, became its leader. The reaction inside the USSR proceeded parallel to the reaction over the entire world. In 1923 the German bourgeoisie strangled the unfolding proletarian revolution. In the same year the campaign against the so-called "Trotskyists" began in the Soviet Union. In 1928 the Chinese revolution was strangled. At the end of 1928 the "Trotskyist Opposition" was excluded from the party. In 1933 Hitler takes power and in 1934 he carries through his purge.<sup>135</sup> In 1935 begin the tremendous purges in the USSR, trials against the Opposition, liquidation of the Old Guard Bolsheviks and of the revolutionary staff of officers. Such are the main milestones which show the indissoluble connection between the strengthening of the bureaucracy in the USSR and the growth of world reaction.

The pressure of world imperialism upon the Soviet bureaucracy, the pressure of the bureaucracy upon the people, the pressure of the backward masses upon the vanguard, such are the causes of the defeat of the revolutionary faction which I represented. That is why I cannot answer the question what I would have done if I had been in Stalin's place. I cannot be in his place. I can be only in my place. My program is the program of the Fourth International which can come to power only under the conditions of a new revolutionary epoch. I recall, by the way, that at the beginning of the last war, the Third International was incomparably weaker than the Fourth is now.

*Question:* What do you believe will be the outcome of the European war—politically, economically, socially and territorially?

*Answer:* In order to formulate an opinion about the possible outcome of the war, it is necessary to first answer the question whether it will be possible shortly to pacify the unfurled fury through a compromise or whether the war will

develop its devastation and destruction to the end. I don't believe for a minute that the pacifist attempts of the neutrals (including the mysterious mission of Mr. Sumner Welles)<sup>136</sup> will meet success in the more or less near future. The contradictions between the two camps are irreconcilable. As great as may be Hitler's conquests in Europe, they will not solve the problem of German capitalism; on the contrary they only aggravate it. The Austrian, Czech, and Polish industries were added to the German; all of them suffered from narrowness of national borders and lack of raw materials. Further, in order to retain the new territories, a constant tension of military forces is unavoidable. Hitler can capitalize on his European successes only on a world scale. In order to do this he must crush France and England. Hitler cannot stop. Consequently the Allies cannot stop either if they do not wish to commit voluntary suicide. The humanitarian lamentations and references to reason will not help. The war will last until it exhausts all the resources of civilization or until it breaks its head on the revolution.

*Question:* How will Europe and the world look after the war?

*Answer:* The peace programs of both camps of this war are not only reactionary but also fantastic, that is, unrealizable. The British government dreams of the establishment of a moderate, conservative monarchy in Germany, of the restoration of the Hapsburgs in Austria-Hungary and of an agreement of all European states on the question of raw materials and markets. London would act correctly if it first found the secret of a peaceful agreement with Ireland about Ulster, and with India. Meanwhile we see terrorist acts, executions, passive and active resistance, sanguinary pacifications. Is it possible to expect that a victorious England will renounce its colonial rights in favor of Germany? Fundamentally England proposes, if victorious, a new edition of the League of Nations with all its old antagonisms but without the old illusions.

With France it is even worse. Its economic specific weight is in evident contradiction with its world position and with the extent of its colonial empire. France seeks a way out of this contradiction in the dismemberment of Germany. As if it were possible to turn the clock of history back to the epoch preceding 1870! The unification of the German nation was an inseparable result of its capitalist development. In order to dismember the present Germany it would be necessary to break

the backbone of German technique, destroy the German factories, and exterminate a significant part of the population. It is easier to say than to do.

The program of freedom and independence for small nations proclaimed by the Allies sounds very attractive but is entirely devoid of content. Under an unlimited domination of imperialist interests on a world scale, the independence of small and weak states has as little reality as the independence of small industrial and commercial enterprises under the domination of trusts and corporations (in this respect see the statistics of the United States).

At the same time that France wishes to dismember Germany, the latter wants on the contrary to unify Europe, naturally under its heel. Concurrently, the colonies of the European states would have to be subjected to German rule. Such is the program of the most dynamic and aggressive imperialism. The task of the economic unification of Europe is in itself progressive. However the entire problem is who is to unify, how, and what for? One cannot believe for one minute that the European nations will accept being locked in the barracks of National Socialism. *Pax Germanica* would mean unavoidably a new series of bloody convulsions.

Such are the two "peace" programs; on the one hand the Balkanization of Germany and thereby of Europe; on the other the transformation of Europe and then of the entire world into a totalitarian barracks. The present war is being waged for the sake of these two programs.

*Question:* What, in your opinion, is the way out? Who and how and by whom can real peace be achieved?

*Answer:* First of all, I recall that in the past war, which was fundamentally a rehearsal for the present, not only did none of the governments materialize their peace program but neither did they survive for long the conclusion of the peace treaty. Into an abyss fell three old and solid firms: the Romanovs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns, with a suite of smaller dynasties.<sup>137</sup> Clemenceau and Lloyd George were swept from power. Wilson ended his days as a victim of his crushed hopes and illusions. Before his death Clemenceau foresaw the coming war. Lloyd George was doomed to see a new catastrophe with his own eyes.

None of the present governments will survive this war. The programs which are now proclaimed will soon be forgotten

just as will their authors. The only program that the ruling classes will maintain is: Save their own skins.

The capitalist system is in a blind alley. Without an entire reconstruction of the economic system on a European and a world scale our civilization is doomed. The struggle of blind forces and unbridled interests must be replaced by the rule of reason, of plan, of conscious organization.

For Europe economic unification is a question of life and death. The accomplishment of this task belongs, however, not to the present governments but to the popular masses, led by the proletariat. Europe must become Socialist United States if it is not to become the cemetery of the old culture. A socialist Europe will proclaim the full independence of the colonies, establish friendly economic relations with them and, step by step, without the slightest violence, by means of example and collaboration, introduce them into a world socialist federation. The USSR liberated from its own ruling caste will join the European federation, which will help it to reach a higher level. The economy of the unified Europe will function as one whole. The question of state borders will provoke as few difficulties as now the question of administrative divisions inside a country. Borders inside the new Europe will be determined in relation to language, and national culture by free decisions of the populations involved.

Will this seem utopian to the "realistic" politicians? To cannibals in their time the giving up of human flesh was utopian.

*Question:* Does dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily mean the surrender of the civil rights as embodied in the Bill of Rights of the United States, and of course, including freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion? Do you believe that there is a middle ground between capitalism, as we know it in the United States, and communism, as you would envision it in the United States?

*Question:* You have said that the Kremlin fears war because that war is likely to be followed by another revolution of the masses. Would you elaborate on this?

*Answer:* Permit me to answer these two questions together. Will the United States enter the revolutionary road? When and how? In order to approach the theme correctly I will begin with a preliminary question: Will the United States intervene in the war?

In his recent prophetic speech combining the language of Wall Street with the language of the Apocalypse, Mr. Hoover<sup>138</sup> predicted that on the fields of gory Europe two horsemen will triumph in the end: hunger and pestilence. The former president recommended that the United States remain aloof from the European insanity in order at the last moment to tip the scale with their economic might. This recommendation is not original. All great powers not yet involved in the war would like to use their unexhausted resources when accounts are settled. Such is the policy of Italy. Such is the policy of the Soviet Union in spite of the war with Finland. Such is the policy of Japan in spite of the undeclared war against China. Such is, in fact, the present policy of the United States. But will it be possible to maintain this policy for long?

If the war develops to the end; if the German army has successes—and it will have really great successes; if the specter of German rule over Europe will arise as a real danger; the government of the United States will then have to decide: to remain aloof, permitting Hitler to assimilate new conquests, multiply the German technique on the raw materials from the conquered colonies and prepare German domination over the entire planet; or to intervene in the course of the war to help clip the wings of German imperialism. I, least of all, am fit to give advice to the present governments; I am simply trying to analyze the objective situation and to draw conclusions from this analysis. I think that before the indicated alternative even the former head of the American Relief Administration will reject his own program of neutrality: it is impossible to possess with impunity the most powerful industry, more than two-thirds of the world's gold reserve, and ten millions of unemployed.

Once the United States, as I think, intervenes in the war, possibly even this year, they will have to bear all its consequences. The more serious of them is the explosive character of the further political development.

*Question:* What do you understand by this?

*Answer:* On February 10, President Roosevelt warned the American Youth Congress against radicalism, advising it to improve the existing institutions, little by little, year by year. Such a procedure undoubtedly would be the best, most advantageous, most economical, if . . . it were realizable. Unfortunately, "the existing institutions" in the entire world are not improving year by year but deteriorating. The democratic

institutions become not perfected but decomposed and cede their place to fascism. And this is not due to an accident or to the light-mindedness of the youth. Capitalist monopolies, having corroded the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crises, wars, national persecutions, and reactionary dictatorships. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

You ask whether an intermediate organization between capitalism and communism is possible. German and Italian fascism were attempts of such an organization. But in reality fascism only brought the most repulsive characteristics of capitalism to a most beastly expression. Another sample of the intermediate system was the New Deal. Did this experiment succeed? I think not; first the number of unemployed has seven zeros; the Sixty Families are more powerful than ever before. And most important there is not the slightest hope that an *organic* improvement is possible on this road. The market, banks, stock exchange, trusts decide and the government only adjusts itself to them by means of belated palliatives. History teaches us that revolution is prepared on this road.

It would be a great mistake to think the socialist revolution in Europe or America will be accomplished after the pattern of backward Russia. The fundamental tendencies will, of course, be similar. But the forms, methods, the "temperature" of the struggle, all this has, in each case, a national character. By anticipation it is possible to establish the following law: The more countries in which the capitalist system is broken, the weaker will be the resistance offered by the ruling classes in other countries, the less sharp a character the socialist revolution will assume, the less violent forms the proletarian dictatorship will have, the shorter it will be, the sooner the society will be reborn on the basis of a new, more full, more perfect and humane democracy. In any case, no revolution can infringe on the Bill of Rights as much as imperialist war and the fascism which it will engender.

Socialism would have no value if it should not bring with it, not only the juridical inviolability but also the full safe-

guarding of all the interests of the human personality. Mankind would not tolerate a totalitarian abomination of the Kremlin pattern. The political regime of the USSR is not a new society, but the worst caricature of the old. With the might of the techniques and organizational methods of the United States; with the high well-being which planned economy could assure there to all citizens, the socialist regime in your country would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and creative power of the human personality.

*Question:* You have asserted that a privileged class in Russia today rules the Soviet Union. Who are they and how are they privileged? Would you compare these people to persons in the United States?

*Answer:* The regime of bourgeois democracy came into being through a series of revolutions; it is sufficient to recall the history of France. Some of these revolutions had a social character, that is, they liquidated the feudal ownership in favor of the bourgeois; others had a purely political character, that is, while maintaining the bourgeois forms of ownership, they changed the system of governing. The proletarian revolution, at least in a backward and isolated country, is also more complicated than it was possible to imagine a priori. The October Revolution had a social and political character; it changed the economic basis of society and constructed a new state system. In general and on the whole the new economic base is preserved in the USSR, though in a deteriorated form. The political system on the contrary has entirely degenerated: the beginnings of Soviet democracy were strangled by the totalitarian bureaucracy. Under these conditions a political revolution under the banner of a new democracy on the basis of the planned economy is a historical inevitability.

*Question:* What do you think of Litvinov's future with the USSR since the Kremlin's change of policy from collective security to cooperation with Germany?

*Answer:* I have never considered the future of Mr. Litvinov. He wasn't an independent figure, but an intelligent and able functionary of the diplomatic corps. Was he familiarized with the fact that under the cover of speeches about the "united front of the democracies" the negotiations with Hitler were conducted? I am not certain about this but it is quite possible. In any case it would not contradict Litvinov's political phys-

iognomy. Whether he will be preserved for some new appointment or whether he will be physically liquidated as a scapegoat for some of Stalin's failures, is a question important for Litvinov himself, but not of political interest.

*Question:* Do you think probable an alliance of capitalist countries against the USSR?

*Answer:* Recently the ex-Kaiser Wilhelm raised his program: "The parties in the war should cease operations and unify their forces in order to aid Finland. They should make a united front to cleanse the world and civilization of Bolshevism." Nobody, of course, is obliged to take the ex-Kaiser too seriously. But in this case he expresses with commendable frankness what others think and prepare. Mussolini does not hide his designs in this respect. London and Paris strive to acquire the friendship of Mussolini at the expense of the USSR. Washington sends its plenipotentiary to Rome. The president of the United States, according to his own words, does not wish to remain neutral in the Soviet-Finnish War: he defends Finland and religion. Sumner Welles has the task of consulting England, France, Italy, and Germany, but not the Soviet Union; this means consultation—against the Soviet Union. Consequently there is no lack of forces striving to prepare a crusade against the USSR. "The defense of Finland" is the mathematical center around which the corresponding forces group themselves.

The difficulty of this tendency consists in the fact that only Hitler can wage a serious war against the USSR. Japan could play thereby a supplementary role. However at present the German armed forces are directed against the West. In this sense the program of the ex-Kaiser is not for the immediate future. But if the war lasts (and the war will last); if the United States intervenes (and it will intervene); if Hitler encounters insuperable difficulties on his road (and he will inevitably encounter them); then the program of the ex-Kaiser will surely be placed on the order of the day.

From what I said above, you will see clearly where I stand in relation to this grouping of forces: on the side of the USSR entirely and unconditionally, before all—against imperialisms of all labels; after that—against the Kremlin oligarchy which facilitates with its foreign policy the preparation of the march against the USSR and with its domestic policy debilitates the Red Army.

## TESTAMENT<sup>139</sup>

**February 27, 1940**

My high (and still rising) blood pressure is deceiving those near me about my actual condition. I am active and able to work but the outcome is evidently near. These lines will be made public after my death.

I have no need to refute here once again the stupid and vile slander of Stalin and his agents: there is not a single spot on my revolutionary honor. I have never entered, either directly or indirectly, into any behind-the-scenes agreements or even negotiations with the enemies of the working class. Thousands of Stalin's opponents have fallen victims of similar false accusations. The new revolutionary generations will rehabilitate their political honor and deal with the Kremlin executioners according to their deserts.

I thank warmly the friends who remained loyal to me through the most difficult hours of my life. I do not name anyone in particular because I cannot name them all.

However, I consider myself justified in making an exception in the case of my companion, Natalia Ivanovna Sedova. In addition to the happiness of being a fighter for the cause of socialism, fate gave me the happiness of being her husband. During the almost forty years of our life together she remained an inexhaustible source of love, magnanimity, and tenderness. She underwent great sufferings, especially in the last period of our lives. But I find some comfort in the fact that she also knew days of happiness.

For forty-three years of my conscious life I have remained a revolutionist; for forty-two of them I have fought under the banner of Marxism. If I had to begin all over again I would of course try to avoid this or that mistake, but the main course of my life would remain unchanged. I shall die a proletarian revolutionist, a Marxist, a dialectical materialist, and, consequently, an irreconcilable atheist. My faith in the

communist future of mankind is not less ardent, indeed it is firmer today, than it was in the days of my youth.

Natasha has just come up to the window from the courtyard and opened it wider so that the air may enter more freely into my room. I can see the bright green strip of grass beneath the wall, and the clear blue sky above the wall, and sunlight everywhere. Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full.

L. Trotsky

All the possessions remaining after my death, all my literary rights (income from my books, articles, etc.) are to be placed at the disposal of my wife, Natalia Ivanovna Sedova.

In case we both die [*the rest of the page is blank*]

March 3, 1940

The nature of my illness (high and rising blood pressure) is such—as I understand it—that the end must come suddenly, most likely—again, this is my personal hypothesis—through a brain hemorrhage. This is the best possible end I can wish for. It is possible, however, that I am mistaken (I have no desire to read special books on this subject and the physicians naturally will not tell the truth). If the sclerosis should assume a protracted character and I should be threatened with a long-drawn-out invalidism (at present I feel, on the contrary, rather a surge of spiritual energy because of the high blood pressure, but this will not last long), then I reserve the right to determine for myself the time of my death. The "suicide" (if such a term is appropriate in this connection) will not in any respect be an expression of an outburst of despair or hopelessness. Natasha and I said more than once that one may arrive at such a physical condition that it would be better to cut short one's own life or, more correctly, the too slow process of dying. . . . But whatever may be the circumstances of my death I shall die with unshaken faith in the communist future. This faith in man and in his future gives me even now such power of resistance as cannot be given by any religion.

L. Tr

## STALIN AFTER THE FINNISH EXPERIENCE <sup>140</sup>

March 13, 1940

While Stalin's faction was still preparing the exclusion of the "Trotskyists" from the party, Stalin, insinuating in his usual manner, asked: "Is the Opposition perhaps against the victory of the Soviet Union in the future struggle with imperialism?" At the session of the Central Committee in August 1927, I replied to this, according to the confidential stenographic report. "Fundamentally Stalin has in mind another question which he doesn't dare express, namely: Does the Opposition perhaps think that Stalin's leadership is not able to guarantee the victory of the USSR? Yes, they do!" "And what about the party?" Molotov, whom Stalin in his intimate conversations called "Blockhead," interrupted me from his chair. "You strangled the party," followed my reply. I finished my speech with the words: "For the socialist fatherland? Yes. For Stalin's course? No!"

And now, thirteen years after, I stand completely for the defense of the Soviet Union. From the British ruling class I am not only geographically but also politically many thousand miles further than, e.g., Bernard Shaw, the untiring paladin of the Kremlin. The French government arrests my co-thinkers, but all this does not lead me to defend the foreign policy of the Kremlin. On the contrary, I consider the main source of danger to the USSR in the present international situation to be Stalin and the oligarchy headed by him. An open struggle against them, in the view of world public opinion, is inseparably connected for me with the defense of the USSR.

Stalin appears to be a man of great stature as he stands on the top of his gigantic bureaucratic pyramid and casts his long shadow. But he is really a man of medium stature possessing mediocre capacities and with a preponderance of slyness over intelligence. He is gifted with insatiable ambition, extraordinary tenacity, and envious vindictiveness. He never looked far ahead—never—and in no way displayed any great initiative. He waited and maneuvered. Power was granted him by a combination of historical circumstances—he only plucked the ripened fruit.

Fear of the masses, mercilessness against a weak adversary, readiness to bow before a strong enemy—the new bureaucracy found all its own characteristics in Stalin in their most finished expression, and it declared him its emperor. Already in the period around Lenin's death in 1924, bureaucracy was virtually omnipotent, though it had not become conscious of this, as the "general secretary"—Stalin in those days—was already a dictator, but he still didn't completely realize it.

The country least of all knew about this unique case in world history. *Stalin succeeded in concentrating dictatorial power in his hands before one percent of the population knew his name.*

Stalin is not a personality, but the personification of bureaucracy. In his struggle against the Opposition, which was reflecting the dissatisfaction of the masses, Stalin realized step by step his mission as defender of the power and privileges of the new ruling caste. At once he felt more resolute and confident. In terms of his subjective tendencies, Stalin is now indubitably the most conservative politician of Europe. He wishes that history, having once guaranteed the rule of the Moscow oligarchy, would stop its flow in order not to damage his own work.

His loyalty to the bureaucracy—that is, to himself—was expressed by Stalin with epic brutality during the famous purges. Their meaning was not understood at the proper time.

The Old Bolsheviks attempted to defend party tradition. The Soviet diplomats in their turn attempted to settle accounts with international public opinion. The Red Generals defended the interests of the army. All three groups fell into contradiction with the totalitarian interests of the Kremlin clique and were liquidated.

Let us imagine for a minute that an enemy's air fleet succeeds in breaking through all obstacles and destroys with bombs the buildings of the Foreign Affairs and War Departments just at the moment when there is a session of diplomatic elite and of the general staff. What a catastrophe! What a commotion would such an internal blow bring into the life of the country! Stalin successfully completed this task without the help of foreign bombers. He collected Soviet diplomats from the four corners of the earth, Soviet army chiefs from the four corners of the USSR, locked them in the cellars of the GPU, and placed a bullet in each of their necks. All this on the eve of a new great war!

Litvinov was saved, but politically did not long survive his former collaborators. Besides political motives in Litvinov's

liquidation, bowing before Hitler, there was indubitably a personal motive. Litvinov was not an independent political figure. But he annoyed Stalin too much by the mere fact that he spoke four languages, knew the life of European capitals, and irritated ignorant bureaucrats with references to sources inaccessible to them. They all seized upon the happy opportunity to rid themselves of too "enlightened" a minister. Stalin breathed with relief, finally feeling himself a head above all his collaborators. But immediately new difficulties began.

The trouble is that Stalin lacks independence on questions of great magnitude. With immense reserves of willpower he lacks the capacity of generalization, of creative imagination, and finally of factual knowledge. Ideologically he always subsisted on others. For many years it was Lenin with whom he invariably came into conflict whenever he was isolated from him. After Lenin's illness, Stalin borrowed his ideas from his temporary allies—Zinoviev and Kamenev—whom he afterwards sent to the bullets of the GPU.<sup>141</sup> Then, in the course of several years, he made use of Bukharin for his practical combinations. Having finished with Bukharin, he found that there was no more necessity for generalized ideas.

At that time the bureaucracy of the USSR and the apparatus of the Comintern were conducted into a state of most humiliating and shameful submission. Then the period of comparative stability in international relations came to an end. Terrible convulsions began.

This short-sighted empiricist, a provincial to the marrow, knowing not one foreign tongue, reading no newspapers except those which presented to him his own picture every day—this man Stalin was caught unawares by great events. The tempo of the present epoch is too feverish for his sluggish, clumsy mind. He could not borrow any new ideas from Molotov or Voroshilov nor from the disconcerted leaders of the Western democracies. The only politician who could impress Stalin in those conditions was Hitler.

*Ecce homo!* Hitler has everything that Stalin has—disdain of the masses, lack of principles, an ambitious will, a totalitarian apparatus. However, Hitler has something that Stalin has not—imagination, the capacity to exalt the masses, the spirit of daring. Under Hitler's cover Stalin attempted to apply Hitler's methods in foreign policy.

In the beginning everything went smoothly—Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania came easily into line. Finland was a misfire. In Stalin's biography that misfire opens a chapter of decline.

In the days of the Red Army's invasion of Poland, the Soviet press suddenly discovered great strategical talents in Stalin, allegedly displayed by him at the time of the civil war. They proclaimed him a super-Napoleon.

At the time of the negotiations with the Baltic delegations the same press pictured him as the greatest of diplomats. It promised in the future a series of miracles to be accomplished without spilling a drop of blood.

Everything turned out to be quite different. Not capable of evaluating the tradition of the long Finnish struggle for independence, Stalin expected to break the Helsinki government by mere diplomatic pressure. He was badly mistaken. Instead of reconsidering his plan he began to threaten. Following his order the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* kept on promising what would be done with Finland in a couple of days' time. In the atmosphere of Byzantine servility that surrounded him, Stalin became the victim of his own threats. They had no effect on the Finns, but compelled Stalin himself to immediate action.

So began a shameful war without a clear perspective, without moral and material preparation, at a moment when the calendar itself obviously warned against the adventure. Stalin did not even think of visiting the front after the pattern of his inspirator, Hitler. The Kremlin combinationist is too cautious to risk his false reputation as a strategist. Moreover, he has nothing to say to the masses face to face. It is impossible even to imagine this grey figure, with his immobile face, yellowish eyes, weak and guttural voice, before the soldiers in the trenches or on the march. The super-Napoleon remained cautiously in the Kremlin, surrounded by telephones and secretaries.

In the course of two and a half months the Red Army knew nothing but defeat, suffering, and humiliation. Nothing was foreseen, not even the climate.

The second offensive developed slowly and claimed many victims. Non-appearance of the promised lightning victory over a weaker adversary was in itself defeat.

To justify, at least to a certain extent, Stalin's mistakes and failures to reconcile the peoples of the USSR to the senseless invasion of Finland, would be possible only in one way—namely, by winning the sympathy of at least part of the Finnish peasants and workers by means of a social upheaval. Stalin understood this, and openly proclaimed the crushing of the Finnish bourgeoisie as his aim. For this the ill-fated Kuusinen was pulled out from the bureaus of the Comintern.<sup>142</sup> But Stalin was frightened by the danger of Britain's and

France's intervention, by Hitler's dissatisfaction at a long war, and withdrew. A tragic adventure was terminated with a bastard peace, a "dictate" in form, a rotten compromise in substance. By means of the Soviet-Finnish war Hitler compromised Stalin and tied him more closely to his own chariot. By means of the peace agreement he guaranteed for himself further importations of Scandinavian raw materials. Russia received, it is true, strategic advantages, but at what a price! The prestige of the Red Army is undermined, the confidence of the toiling masses and oppressed peoples of the entire world is lost. As a result, the international position of the USSR is not strengthened but weakened. Stalin personally emerges badly smitten.

The general sentiment of the country is undoubtedly the following—We should not have begun this unworthy war, but once the war was begun it should have been carried through to the end. That is, to the sovietization of Finland. Stalin promised that, but he did not accomplish it. This signifies that he did not foresee anything—neither the resistance of the Finns, nor the frosts, nor the dangers from the Allies. Together with the diplomat and the strategist was defeated the "Leader of World Socialism" and the "Liberator of the Finnish Nation." An irreparable blow was given to the authority of the dictator. The hypnosis of totalitarian propaganda will lose its force more and more.

It is true that Stalin can receive aid for a time from outside. For this it would be necessary that the Allies enter the war against him. Such a war would pose before the peoples of the USSR the question not of the fate of the Stalinist dictatorship, but that of the country. Defense against foreign intervention would undoubtedly strengthen the position of the bureaucracy.

In a defensive war the Red Army would operate with incomparably more success than in an offensive war. In self-defense, the Kremlin would even show itself capable of revolutionary measures, but this would only delay matters. The insolvency of the Stalinist dictatorship has uncovered itself more than enough in the course of the last fifteen weeks. It would be false to believe that peoples strangled by the totalitarian loop lose their capacity to observe and to think. They draw their conclusions more slowly, but more solidly and profoundly.

Stalin's apogee is behind him. Not a few fateful tests are before him. With the whole planet thrown out of equilibrium Stalin will not succeed in saving the unsteady equilibrium of totalitarian bureaucracy.

## LETTER TO THE WORKERS OF THE USSR<sup>143</sup>

April 23, 1940

Greetings to the Soviet workers, collective farmers, soldiers of the Red Army and sailors of the Red Navy! Greetings from distant Mexico, where I found refuge after the Stalinist clique had exiled me to Turkey and after the bourgeoisie had hounded me from country to country!

Dear Comrades! The lying Stalinist press has been maliciously deceiving you for a long time on all questions, including those which relate to myself and my political co-thinkers. You possess no workers' press; you read only the press of the bureaucracy, which lies systematically so as to keep you in darkness and thus render secure the rule of a privileged parasitic caste.

Those who dare raise their voices against the universally hated bureaucracy are called "Trotskyists," agents of a foreign power, branded as spies—yesterday it was spies of Germany, today it is spies of England and France—and then sent to face the firing squad. Tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters have fallen before the muzzles of GPU Mausers in the USSR and in countries abroad, especially in Spain. All of them were depicted as agents of fascism. Do not believe this abominable slander! Their crime consisted of defending workers and peasants against the brutality and rapacity of the bureaucracy. The entire Old Guard of Bolshevism, all the collaborators and assistants of Lenin, all the fighters of the October Revolution, all the heroes of the civil war, have been murdered by Stalin. In the annals of history Stalin's name will forever be recorded with the infamous brand of Cain!

The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik Party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organiza-

tion which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of workers and peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate commissars, secretaries, and GPU agents.

But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October Revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the czarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie.

If Soviet economic life had been conducted in the interests of the people; if the bureaucracy had not devoured and vainly wasted the major portion of the national income; if the bureaucracy had not trampled underfoot the vital interests of the population, then the USSR would have been a great magnetic pole of attraction for the toilers of the world and the inviolability of the Soviet Union would have been assured. But the infamous oppressive regime of Stalin has deprived the USSR of its attractive power. During the war with Finland, not only the majority of the Finnish peasants but also the majority of the Finnish workers proved to be on the side of their bourgeoisie. This is hardly surprising since they know of the unprecedented oppression to which the Stalinist bureaucracy subjects the workers of nearby Leningrad and the whole of the USSR. The Stalinist bureaucracy, so bloodthirsty and ruthless at home and so cowardly before the imperialist enemies, has thus become the main source of war danger to the Soviet Union.

The old Bolshevik Party and the Third International have disintegrated and decomposed. The honest and advanced revolutionists have organized abroad the Fourth International which has sections already established in most of the countries of the world. I am a member of this new International. In participating in this work I remain under the very same banner that I served under with you or your fathers and your

older brothers in 1917 and throughout the years of the civil war—the very same banner under which together with Lenin we built the Soviet state and the Red Army.

The goal of the Fourth International is to extend the October Revolution to the whole world and at the same time to regenerate the USSR by purging it of the parasitic bureaucracy. This can be achieved only in one way: by the workers, peasants, Red Army soldiers, and Red Navy sailors rising against the new caste of oppressors and parasites. To prepare this uprising, a new party is needed—a bold and honest revolutionary organization of the advanced workers. The Fourth International sets as its task the building of such a party in the USSR.

Advanced workers! Be the first to rally to the banner of Marx and Lenin which is now the banner of the Fourth International! Learn how to create, in the conditions of Stalinist illegality, tightly fused, reliable revolutionary circles! Establish contacts between these circles! Learn how to establish contacts—through loyal and reliable people, especially the sailors—with your revolutionary co-thinkers in bourgeois lands! It is difficult, but it can be done.

The present war will spread more and more, piling ruins on ruins, breeding more and more sorrow, despair, and protest, driving the whole world toward new revolutionary explosions. The world revolution shall reinvigorate the Soviet working masses with new courage and resoluteness and shall undermine the bureaucratic props of Stalin's caste. It is necessary to prepare for this hour by stubborn systematic revolutionary work. The fate of our country, the future of our people, the destiny of our children and grandchildren are at stake.

Down with Cain Stalin and his camarilla!

Down with the rapacious bureaucracy!

Long live the Soviet Union, the fortress of the toilers!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

Fraternally,  
Leon Trotsky

WARNING! Stalin's press will of course declare that this letter is transmitted to the USSR by "agents of imperialism." Be forewarned that this, too, is a lie. This letter will reach the USSR through reliable revolutionists who are prepared to risk their lives for the cause of socialism. Make copies of this letter and give it the widest possible circulation.—L. T.

## ON JAPAN'S PLANS FOR EXPANSION<sup>144</sup>

May 1, 1940

My dear Chris,

Do you know what the Tanaka Memorial is?<sup>145</sup> I call your attention to this very important and very much discussed document. It was published in the United States for the first time, I think, at the end of 1923 or during 1924, hardly any later. In what paper? I imagine in one of secondary importance because the most important publications were afraid of the diplomatic importance of the document, especially for the relations between the United States and Japan and they inclined to the version that the document was a forgery. This was not true, the document was not a forgery, it is completely authentic in spite of all the Japanese denials.

Rear Admiral Taussig made an allegation about it before the Senate Committee on April 22, but the *New York Times* reminded its readers that the "so-called" Tanaka Memorial is, according to the Japanese, a forgery.

I will now prove in the big press that the document whose origins I know very well is authentic. But to help my memory and my personal archives I need an investigation of the fate of the document in the American press: the date and the place of the first appearance; the reaction provoked by the document in the press and public opinion; the discussions about its authenticity, etc. I would even need the English text of the document itself.

Can you spend time for such an investigation which would, in my opinion, be very useful to you, introducing you to Japanese-American relations and preparing you for the coming great events in the Pacific? If you agree, the best way would be to invite a typist for the copying of the document and the quotations. I would be glad to cover the necessary expenses.

With best greetings,

Yours,  
L. Trotsky

## THE TANAKA MEMORIAL<sup>146</sup>

May 1940

The American press has up to now considered the "Tanaka Memorial" a dubious document.

On April 23, 1940, Rear Admiral Taussig referred to the "Tanaka Memorial" in his extremely interesting report to the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. Rear Admiral Taussig was disavowed by his own department. It is not my intention to enter into this controversy. I believe that Rear Admiral Taussig had his own reasons for speaking, and the Navy Department had its own reasons for disavowing his views. Quite possibly the disavowal did not come as a surprise to the rear admiral. But, I repeat, this does not concern me. So far as I am able to judge, Rear Admiral Taussig is a qualified expert on the morals, tasks, and politics of the Far East. He does not doubt the authenticity of the "Tanaka Memorial." The *New York Times*, however, in reporting this session of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, found it necessary to remind its readers once again that the "Japanese have always insisted that the so-called 'Tanaka Memorial' was a Chinese forgery." Thus even today, some sixteen years after the publication of the "Memorial," it still remains a suspect and controversial document.

The "Tanaka Memorial" is not a forgery. A careful analysis of its contents and text in and of itself testifies adequately to this. Moreover, the author of these lines is in possession of facts which verify completely and incontrovertibly the authenticity of the "Tanaka Memorial."

A genius in the fabrication of forgeries would have been required to execute so complex a forgery with such penetration into the objective situation and the political psychology of Japan's ruling circles. However, geniuses do not as a rule occupy themselves with forgeries but devote their energies to other pursuits. To be sure, there was no scarcity of forgeries during the last war and the ensuing postwar years. Suffice it to recall the notorious Sisson documents on the Soviet Republic.<sup>147</sup> As a general rule—and I know of no exceptions—

documents of this type are extremely crude. They tend to reveal the psychology of the forgers themselves or of the circles for whom they are intended rather than the psychology of those individuals or groups in whose name the forgeries are committed. If such documents meet with credibility, it is only because of lack of familiarity with the milieu from which they reportedly emanate. The Soviet government consisted of individuals completely unknown to world public opinion. Small wonder that it was possible to ascribe to them any goal or aim whatsoever, and depict these things in any kind of language.

It is otherwise with the Imperial government of Japan. It constitutes an ancient and traditional milieu. Whoever has carefully followed the evolution of Japanese politics cannot fail to acknowledge that the document, with its cynical realism and icy fanaticism of the ruling caste, originates in this milieu. The document is credible. The text is valid. The contents gain credence because they speak for themselves.

Japan is today the weakest link in the imperialist chain. Her financial and military superstructure rests on a foundation of semi-feudal agrarian barbarism. Periodic explosions within the Japanese army are only a reflection of the intolerable tension of social contradictions in the country. The regime as a whole maintains itself only through the dynamics of military seizures. The programmatic basis for these seizures is supplied by the "Tanaka Memorial."

As I recall it, the "Memorial" is based on the testament of Emperor Meiji. This testament itself is of course a myth. But Japanese aggression is interlaced with traditionalism. While creating a gigantic fleet of the most modern type, the Japanese imperialists prefer to base their activities on ancient national traditions. Just as priests put their pronouncements and desires into the mouths of deities, so the Japanese imperialists palm off their very modern plans and combinations as the will of the august progenitors of the reigning emperor. Similarly Tanaka covered up the imperialist aspirations of the ruling cliques by reference to a nonexistent testament of an emperor.

The document did not leap full-blown from Baron Tanaka's brow. It constitutes a generalization of the plans formulated by the army and navy leaders and, in a certain sense, a reconciliation and a theoretical summation of these plans. It is to be assumed that many variants preceded the final draft; and that many discussions were held in intimate, "nonofficial" and hence all the more influential circles. The task was to

affix the seal of imperial will upon these aspirations of the army and navy circles. The old emperor's physical and mental condition was such that his signature could not prove authoritative for the initiated. That is why the imperialist conspirators waited for the enthronement of Emperor Hirohito before presenting for his signature the document, which from all indications had received its final formulation under General Tanaka's direction.

However, apart from these general considerations, the writer of these lines is able to vouch for the following facts. The "Tanaka Memorial" was first photographed in Tokyo in the Ministry of Naval Affairs and brought to Moscow as an undeveloped film. I was perhaps the very first person to become acquainted with the document in English and Russian translations of the Japanese text.

At that time relations with Japan were extremely alarming for Soviet foreign policy. The Far East was defended poorly. The defenses of the Chinese Eastern Railroad were even worse.<sup>148</sup> There was no talk in those days of selling the railway to the Japanese: not so much because Moscow was not ready to sell, but primarily because Tokyo had no inclination to buy; they were preparing to get it free of charge.

Throughout that period Moscow made persistent offers to conclude a mutual nonaggression pact with Tokyo. These proposals were diplomatically evaded by Tokyo on the pretext that the time was not yet ripe for such a treaty. In those days treaties were still approached with a semblance of seriousness. In a few years it was already to become the rule that a mutual nonaggression pact was the best prelude to military invasion. In those years, however, Japan at all events preferred to evade.

Moscow never removed its eyes from the East. On the one hand there was the constant threat of Japanese plans. On the other hand, the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 was germinating. Great hopes were bound up with the Chinese revolution, including the security of the Soviet Far Eastern possessions and the Chinese Eastern Railway. The writer was not among those on the government staff who believed that the Chinese Eastern Railway must be handed over to the Japanese as soon as the latter succeeded in gaining control of Manchuria.

But neither the duration of the Chinese revolution nor its success was guaranteed in advance. Japanese militarism was an existing fact, very palpable, very aggressive. The Chinese revolution was a question of the future. It is hardly astonish-

ing that the Soviet Intelligence Service in both its branches—that which fulfilled military assignments and that of the GPU—were under orders to watch carefully every Japanese move in diplomatic as well as military fields.

The Military Intelligence Service was under a twofold jurisdiction: subject on the one hand to the War Department and on the other to the GPU. The Foreign Department of the GPU was headed by an Old Bolshevik, Trilisser, who was later removed and apparently liquidated along with many others. The Military Intelligence was headed by Berzin, an old Lettish Bolshevik. I was not closely acquainted with the organization of our agency in Japan, being little interested in the technical aspects of the matter. I handed this over to my aides, first Sklyansky, later Unschlicht and, to a certain extent, Rosengoltz.<sup>149</sup> Permit me to recall that Sklyansky, one of the outstanding and most meritorious organizers of the Red Army, was drowned in 1924 or 1925 in America while taking a boat ride on a lake. Unschlicht disappeared, and was evidently liquidated. Rosengoltz was shot by verdict of the court.

Questions relating to the Intelligence Service were thus brought to my attention only in exceptional cases involving issues of great military or political importance. This is precisely what happened on the occasion to which I have referred.

The successes of which the Soviet Foreign Intelligence could already boast at that time were by no means accidental. The party had at its disposal not a few people who had passed through a serious conspiratorial school and who were well acquainted with all the methods and subterfuges of the police and counterespionage. They brought into their work an international experience, many of them having been emigres in various lands and possessing a broad political outlook. They had personal friends in many countries. Nor was there any lack of self-sacrificing support on the part of the revolutionary elements in different countries. In many government institutions of capitalist countries the lower functionaries were sympathetic to a considerable degree to the October Revolution. Provided one knew how, their sympathy could be utilized in the interests of the Soviet power. It was so utilized.

The network of foreign agencies was still very little developed, far from complete, but by way of compensation, lucky individual connections sometimes produced unexpected and extraordinary results.

Dzerzhinsky,<sup>150</sup> the then head of the GPU, used to refer with satisfaction on more than one occasion to the extraordinary sources of information at his disposal in Japan.

Despite the shut-in character of the Japanese, and their ability to keep secrets—which arises from the specific, special conditions of their national milieu and the inaccessibility of the Japanese language to the overwhelming majority of foreigners—it must be said that this ability is nevertheless not absolute. The decomposition of the old system finds its expression not only in the fact that young officers and officials from time to time shoot ministers whom they find inconvenient but also in this, that other less patriotic officers and officials, wearied of spartan customs, seek for sources of revenue on the side. I know of cases of important Japanese functionaries, assigned to work in Japanese consulates in European countries, who gave up important secrets for relatively modest sums of money.

Dzerzhinsky was brought into the Political Bureau after Lenin's death. This step was taken by Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev in order to attract to their side the honest but vain-glorious Dzerzhinsky. They succeeded completely.

Dzerzhinsky was very talkative, very hot-tempered and explosive. This man of iron will who had served terms of hard penal labor possessed traits which were absolutely childlike. Once during a session of the Political Bureau he boasted of his hopes shortly to lure Boris Savinkov to Soviet soil him.<sup>151</sup> My reaction to this was highly skeptical. But Dzerzhinsky proved right. Savinkov was lured by agents of the GPU to Soviet territory and arrested there. Shortly thereafter Dzerzhinsky expressed his hopes of apprehending Wrangel in the same way.<sup>152</sup> But this hope did not materialize because Wrangel proved more cautious.

Very often, without giving any technical details, into which no one even inquired, he would boast of the successes of our foreign espionage, especially in Japan.

One day in 1925, in the summer or early autumn, Dzerzhinsky talked excitedly about his expectations of obtaining an extremely important document from Japan. He stated ecstatically that this document in and of itself could provoke international upheavals, events of vast importance, war between Japan and the United States, etc. I remained, as always in such cases, even more skeptical.

"Wars are not provoked by documents," I objected to Dzerzhinsky. But he insisted: "You have no conception of the importance of this document; it is the program of the ruling circles, approved by the Mikado himself; it embraces the seizure of China, the destruction of the United States, world domination."

"Mightn't your agent be duped?" I asked. "No one writes such

documents as a rule. Why should such plans be put down on paper?"

Dzerzhinsky was himself not very sure on this point. He replied, as if to dispel the doubts in his own mind: "In their country they do everything in the name of the emperor. In order to justify risky measures, risky politics, and vast army and naval expenditures, the military men and the diplomats have been seeking to tempt the Mikado with a colossal perspective which is equally indispensable to themselves for the political adventures in which they are engaging. That is why Tanaka has written down the plans of the military circles in a special report to the emperor, and this report has met with the emperor's approval. We will receive a photographic copy of the document directly from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

I remember that Dzerzhinsky mentioned a sum to be paid for the photographic copy. It was relatively modest, about three thousand American dollars.

From Dzerzhinsky I learned that the GPU enjoyed the services of a very trusted functionary who had direct access to the secret archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In a period of more than a year he had already provided some very valuable information and was marked by great precision and conscientiousness in fulfilling his obligations as a foreign spy. He was quite familiar with the archives and with the relative importance of the various documents. This functionary had proposed to copy the document but the GPU representative, upon instructions from Moscow, demanded photographic copies. This was much more difficult. It was necessary to introduce a GPU technician into the premises of the ministry or to teach the functionary the art of photography. These technical difficulties caused a delay in obtaining the document. Several copies of each page were taken, and the film was then forwarded by two or three different routes. All the copies arrived safely in Moscow.

I must admit that I am unable now to recall—perhaps I was not interested in this at the time—whether the Japanese agent was one among the volunteers sincerely devoted to the new Soviet regime, or one of a number of hired agents or, finally, a type representing a combination of the two. This last type was probably the most prevalent. The number of sympathizers in Japan was very small.

"The document has arrived!" Dzerzhinsky announced joyously. Where was it? It had arrived as a film which was being developed. The developing was coming out successfully and

the document was being translated by our Japanese experts as it was developed. They were all staggered by the contents of the very first pages. I would get my report from Trilisser. (It might have been Unschlicht.)

As the head of the War Department, I was naturally interested in Far Eastern questions, but there was still another connection. During the first period of the Soviet regime, in the initial months up to February 1918, I was in charge of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Upon arriving from England, Chicherin, whom we had exchanged for several arrested Englishmen, became my deputy. When I shifted to the War Department, Chicherin, who had been coping successfully with his assignment, was appointed as the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs on my motion in the Council of People's Commissars and in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. As a member of the Political Bureau I frequently used to draft together with Chicherin the more important diplomatic documents. On the other hand, in all cases where I required the aid of diplomacy during the civil war, I would get in touch directly with Chicherin.

In 1923 the "Troika" (Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin) made an attempt to remove me from all supervision of foreign policy. This function was formally assigned to Zinoviev. Nevertheless the old relationships and, so to speak, the old unofficial hierarchy continued to remain in force. Even in 1925, after I had already left the War Department and was placed in charge of the modest Concessions Committee, I was, as a member of the Political Bureau, appointed head of the Committee on Far Eastern Affairs, Japan, and China. Among the members of this committee were Chicherin, Voroshilov, Krassin, Rudzutak, and others.<sup>153</sup>

Stalin was at that time still wary of venturing on the slippery ice of international politics. For the most part, he would listen and look on, formulate his opinion, or merely vote after others had expressed themselves.

Zinoviev, who was formally in charge of diplomatic affairs, was inclined, as everybody knew, to fall into a panic whenever a difficult situation arose. All this explains amply why the document received from Tokyo was transmitted directly to me.

I must acknowledge that the vast scope of the plan, the cold and ruthless messianism of the Mikado's bureaucratic clique, astounded me. But the text of the document did not arouse in my mind the slightest doubt, not only because I was acquainted

with the document's history but also because of its internal validity.

If we grant that the Chinese did manage to find an ideal forger who fabricated this document, then the question still remains just how did this Chinese forgery turn up in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a special, secret document? Did the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself arrange to transmit the falsified Chinese document and pass it off as a genuine Japanese document? This supposition is utterly fantastic. The Japanese could not have been in the least interested in circulating such a document and arousing belief in it. They demonstrated this most graphically by branding it as a forgery the moment it was published.

The film was developed and the translation made at once in the offices of the Intelligence Service, and both were rushed immediately to the Kremlin. The photostats were still wet and the translation was in the shape of the first rough draft. Many corrections were later required.

Did the other members of the Political Bureau become acquainted with the document at the same time as I did, or was it shortly after? I have no definite recollection on this point. In any case, when the Political Bureau met, all the members were acquainted with the document. Although personal relations were already very strained at that time, all the members of the Political Bureau seemed temporarily to draw closer together because of the document. In the preliminary discussion the main topic was naturally the voracity of the Japanese. The megalomania in which mysticism and cynicism remarkably supplemented each other was spoken of with astonishment tinged with grudging admiration.

"Isn't this perhaps a poem, a forgery?" asked Bukharin who with all his childlike gullibility loved, whenever a propitious occasion offered itself, to play the part of a cautious statesman. Dzerzhinsky exploded, as usual.

"I have already explained to you," he said, speaking with a Polish accent which always became thicker as he grew excited, "that this document is supplied by our agent who has proved his complete trustworthiness; and that this document was kept in the most secret section of the archives of the Naval Ministry. Our agent introduced our photographer into the premises. He himself didn't know how to operate a camera. Is it perhaps your opinion that the Japanese Admirals themselves placed a forged document in their secret archives? The Naval Ministry originally had no copy of this document. It was at first kept only in the emperor's personal archives, with a copy

in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Then the Army and Navy Ministries asked for their own copies. Our agent learned the exact time when a copy would arrive from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Extreme precautions were taken with its delivery. Our agent was able to gain access to it only thanks to the fact that a copy finally got into the archives of the Naval Ministry. Are you perhaps of the opinion that all this was done specially for purposes of fraud?"

As for myself, I had, I repeat, no doubts about its authenticity, if only on the basis of its internal validity. "If we granted for a moment," I said, "that this document is a forgery then we must also grant that the forgery is the work of the Japanese themselves. What for? To sell it to us for two or three thousand dollars? Enrich the treasury of the Naval Ministry by three thousand dollars? Or do they desire in this way to provoke us, frighten us? But we are already aware of their appetites, although, to be sure, not on such a scale. They know that despite a whole series of provocations we are doing everything in our power to avoid a conflict. A programmatic document could not in any way cause a change in our policy."

Discussion on this point ended quickly. All the circumstances and all the technical details, which have not of course been retained in my memory, left no room for doubts about the authenticity of the document.

The question next arose: What do do? We had in our possession a charge of great explosive power. There was naturally danger that we might blow ourselves up. From every standpoint it was not expedient to publish it in the Soviet press. In the first place, this would reveal to the Japanese authorities that an agent of extraordinary value was at the disposal of our espionage. Dzerzhinsky would not agree to this in any case. Far more important were considerations of a political nature. Japan's plans were calculated for a number of decades. The Kremlin was concerned with gaining a few years, even a few months. We were sparing the Japanese in every way. We made very great concessions. Our wisest, most careful and mildest diplomat, Joffe, was functioning in Japan.<sup>154</sup> The publication of this document in Moscow would be tantamount to saying openly to the Japanese that we were seeking a conflict. The scales would immediately tip in favor of the most bellicose circles in the Japanese army and navy. It was absolutely irrational to provoke Japan by publishing this document which, moreover, might not gain credence abroad.

Zinoviev at first made the proposal that the document be published in the periodical *Communist International*. This

method of publication would still leave the government itself on the sidelines. But no one would hear of it, nor did Zinoviev insist on his hasty proposal.

I offered a plan which I had elaborated before coming to the session of the Political Bureau. It was necessary to publish the document abroad, and avoid any link whatever between the document and Moscow, without lessening its effect, without arousing mistrust, without compromising the GPU agents in Japan. But where? The place of publication literally offered itself, namely, the United States. I proposed that, after the document was translated into English, it should be transmitted to the press by a trustworthy and authoritative friend of the Soviet Republic in the United States. At that time the calling of a friend of the Soviet Union had not yet become a profession. The number of friends was not large; important and influential personalities were all too scarce. In any case the task turned out much more difficult than I had presumed.

We were under the impression that the document would literally be torn from our hands. Dzerzhinsky had hopes of easily recouping the expenses of our Japanese agency. But things did not turn out that way at all. It was not easy to provide a credible version of how the document was obtained from Tokyo. Any reference to the real source, i.e., the GPU, would arouse additional mistrust. In America the suspicion would naturally arise that the GPU itself had simply manufactured the document in order to poison relations between Japan and the United States.

The English translation was painstakingly made in Moscow. The photostats together with the English text were forwarded to New York, and in this way any trace of a connection between this document and Moscow was eliminated.

It should not be forgotten that this took place during the administration of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes, that is, an administration very hostile to the Soviet Union.<sup>155</sup> There was every justification to fear that hostile experts would simply pronounce the document a Moscow fabrication. It is a fact that fraudulent documents are sometimes asserted to be genuine while authentic documents are not infrequently labeled as forgeries.

To my knowledge the American press made no references to Moscow as the key point from which the document was forwarded from Tokyo to New York. However, there was no "malice" on the part of Moscow in this affair, unless of course it is considered malicious to obtain a document from the secret archives of a hostile power. We were simply unable to

devise any other way of bringing the document to the attention of world public opinion except by publishing it in the American press, without indicating the source, or rather by camouflaging the actual source as much as possible.

In those years the Soviet Republic did not as yet have its own diplomatic representative in the United States. At the head of the Amtorg was the engineer, Bogdanov.<sup>156</sup> He and his colleagues, who are today better known and more influential, fulfilled all sorts of diplomatic missions. I cannot now recall just who among them was entrusted with the task of finding a competent person among the Americans and putting the document in circulation through him. In any case it should not be difficult to verify this, since the document was offered to the most influential publications in the order of their importance.

According to certain indications the "Tanaka Memorial" was signed by the Mikado in July 1927. In that case it is quite obvious that the document was forwarded to Moscow prior to its being actually signed by the Mikado. The document, as has already been stated, had been under discussion among the close summits of the Japanese army, the navy, and the diplomatic corps. It was precisely during this period that copies had to be made available to the ministries concerned. Tanaka became premier in April 1927. He might have well obtained the post of premier precisely because of undertaking to win the emperor's sanction for this program of the extreme wing of the militarists and imperialists.

Why do the Japanese authorities pronounce the "Tanaka Memorial" a *Chinese* forgery? They were obviously unaware of Moscow's role in the publication of this document. The appearance of the "Memorial" in the American and not the Soviet press naturally inspired the idea that the "Memorial" had in some way fallen into Chinese hands who hastened to forward it to the United States.

It is hard to understand why Moscow, which is best informed on this matter, persists in maintaining silence about the "Tanaka Memorial." The original photographic copy was received in Moscow under circumstances precluding any doubts whatever about its authenticity. This remarkable document was sent abroad, i.e., to the United States from Moscow, from the Kremlin. The authenticity of the document is strangely enough suspect even today. Moscow keeps quiet. To be sure Moscow had ample reasons in its day to hide its participation in publishing and exposing the "Tanaka Memorial." The prime consideration was not to provoke Tokyo. This explains why

the Kremlin took the roundabout way in making it public. But the situation has drastically changed in the decade and a half that have since elapsed. Moscow is very well aware that the technical conditions, the conspiratorial considerations which originally impelled the hiding of the source of information have long since disappeared: the individuals involved have been replaced (mostly shot); the methods have changed. The flight to Japan of General Luchkov, an important GPU functionary, marks a dividing line between two periods of espionage direction. Even if Luchkov did not surrender his former agents into the hands of the Japanese—and his conduct leads me to believe that he revealed everything he knew—Moscow must have hastily eliminated all agents and changed connections long ago, in view of the danger from Luchkov. From every aspect, the silence of the Kremlin is well-nigh incomprehensible.

One has to assume that operating here is the excessive caution which often drives Stalin to ignore major considerations for the sake of secondary and petty ones.

It is more than likely that this time too Moscow does not wish to cause any annoyances to Tokyo in view of the negotiations now under way in the hope of reaching a more stable and lasting agreement. All these considerations, however, recede to the background as the world war spreads its concentric circles ever wider and as Japan awaits only an opportune moment in the Far East before taking the next step toward the realization of the "Tanaka Memorial."

I ask myself: Why didn't I relate this episode before, an episode which throws light on one of the most important political documents of modern history? It was simply because no occasion arose for it. In the interval between the meeting of the Political Bureau in 1925 when the question of the Tanaka document first came up, and the period when I found myself in exile abroad and had the opportunity of following international affairs more accurately—in this interval there intervened the years of the cruel internal struggle, arrest, exile to Central Asia, and then Turkey. The Tanaka document remained dormant in the recesses of my memory.

The course of events in the Far East in recent years has corroborated the Tanaka program to such a degree as to preclude any doubts about the authenticity of this document.

## ON A "SOCIALIST" ALLY<sup>157</sup> OF CHAMBERLAIN

May 14, 1940

My dear Miss La Follette,

I would be ready to move heaven and earth in order to grant your request, but I cannot. I am writing now a large document for the Fourth International on the war and I *must* finish it during the next week.

But I must also confess that I felt a horror at the idea of seeing my article published at the side of one by Mr. Brailsford.<sup>158</sup> When I publish an article in *Life* or in *Liberty* it's the same as when I use the tramway: I am not interested in knowing who are the other passengers because nobody can identify me with them. An "opinion" magazine is quite another thing. Mr. Brailsford considers himself a left author, a kind of socialist and so on. But in my eyes he is only a petty bourgeois reactionary shadow of the conservative Mr. Chamberlain. Politically I prefer to deal with Chamberlain than with Brailsford. The idea itself, that I could have common ground with Mr. Brailsford, is for me a thousand times less acceptable than would be an occasional contribution to the Hearst press.

I appreciate too highly your moral personality, my dear friend, not to tell you the whole truth—"Hier stehe ich und ich kann nicht anders."

With my warmest greetings and wishes.

Cordially yours,  
Leon Trotsky

## A PROPOSAL TO PROFESSIONAL SLANDERERS<sup>159</sup>

May 14, 1940

*Futuro* magazine and the daily *El Popular* have been systematically and consciously printing slanderous stories about me (preparing a general strike directed against the Mexican government, connection with Cedillo and a certain Dr. Atl, participation in the electoral campaign and in the antirevolutionary conspiracy, etc., etc.). Lately they dwell on my secret relations with the U. S. Dies Committee "against the Mexican people" (see *El Popular*, May 13).

It would not be worthwhile here to disprove all the "accusations" because there is no substance to them, no concrete deeds, nor even a precisely spelled-out charge. Moreover, after each refutation on my part, with exact references to documents, the accusers have continued, without a change of expression, to repeat the same slanders or even directly opposite ones (today, "agent of fascism;" tomorrow, "agent of the imperialist democracies"). Neither will I assess the personal morality of the "accusers," yesterday intrepid fighters against fascism, today its most servile defenders. This is not what interests me. Nevertheless, I believe I have the right to demand from these public accusers proofs that are as public as their accusations.

During my three and a half years of residence in Mexico, I have often proposed to these gentlemen that they present their "accusations" to an impartial commission for public investigation. I am willing to appear before such a commission any day, any hour, as long as it is formed by the Mexican authorities, the National Committee of the PRM [the Mexican Revolutionary Party, Mexico's ruling party], or any other body of known impartiality. Thus far I have never received an answer to my proposal. I repeat it again, and at the same time I predict that they will not accept it. They dare not accept. They have nothing: neither deeds, nor dates, nor even a well-thought-out charge. In plain language, they lie because their boss in the Kremlin orders them to attack me, and each one tries to demonstrate greater shamelessness than his competitors.

After the publication of this formal proposal, which I am making for the last time, I will wait seventy-two hours for an answer. I believe that after that time span, any honorable person will have the right to call these people *contemptible slanderers*.

# **MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ON THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION<sup>160</sup>**

**May 1940**

The Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, convenes at the turning point of the second imperialist war. The stage of probing for openings, of making preparations, and of relative military inactivity has been left far behind. Germany has unloosed all the furies of hell in a major offensive to which the Allies are replying in kind with all their forces of destruction. From now on the life of Europe and all of mankind will be determined for a long time by the course of the imperialist war and by its economic and political consequences.

The Fourth International considers that now is the time to say openly and clearly how it views this war and its participants, how it evaluates the war policies of various labor organizations, and most important, what is the way out to peace, freedom, and plenty.

The Fourth International turns not to the governments who have dragooned the peoples into the slaughter, nor to the bourgeois politicians who bear the responsibility for these governments, nor to the labor bureaucracy which supports the warring bourgeoisie. The Fourth International turns to the working men and women, the soldiers and sailors, the ruined peasants and the enslaved colonial peoples. The Fourth International has no ties whatsoever with the oppressors, the exploiters, the imperialists. It is the world party of the toilers, the oppressed, and the exploited. This manifesto is addressed to them.

### The General Causes of the Present War

Technology is infinitely more powerful now than at the end of the war of 1914-1918, whereas mankind is much more poverty-stricken. The standard of living has declined in one country after another. On the threshold of the present war, agriculture was in worse condition than at the outbreak of the last war. The agricultural countries are ruined. In the industrial countries the middle classes are being ravaged economically, and a permanent sub-class of unemployed — modern pariahs — has been formed. The domestic market has narrowed. The export of capital has been reduced. Imperialism has actually shattered the world market, breaking it up into spheres dominated by powerful individual countries. With the considerable increase in the population of the earth, the world trade of 109 states on our planet dropped almost one-fourth in the single decade prior to the present war. The turnover in foreign trade of some countries has been cut to one-half, one-third, and one-fourth.

The colonial countries are suffering from their own internal crises, and from the crises of the metropolitan centers. Backward nations which yesterday were still semi-free are today plunged into slavery (Abyssinia, Albania, China . . . ).<sup>161</sup> Every imperialist country must have its own sources of raw materials, above all for war, that is, for a new struggle for raw materials. In order to enrich themselves further, the capitalists are destroying and laying waste to everything created by the labor of centuries.

The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States. In an era of aviation, telegraph, telephone, radio, and television, travel from country to country is paralyzed by passports and visas. The period of the wasting away of foreign trade and the decline of domestic trade is at the same time the period of the monstrous intensification of chauvinism and especially of anti-Semitism. In the epoch of its rise, capitalism took the Jewish people out of the ghetto and utilized them as an instrument in its commercial expansion. Today decaying capitalist society is striving to squeeze the Jewish people from all its pores; seventeen million individuals out of the two billion populating the globe, that is, less than 1 percent, can no longer find a place on our planet! Amid the vast expanses of land and the marvels of technology, which has also conquered the skies for man as well as the earth, the bourgeoisie has managed to convert our planet into a foul prison.

### **Lenin and Imperialism**

On November 1, 1914, at the beginning of the last imperialist war, Lenin wrote: "Imperialism has placed the fate of European culture at stake. After this war, if a series of successful revolutions do not occur, more wars will follow—the fairy tale of a 'war to end all wars' is a hollow and pernicious fairy tale. . . ." Workers, call this prediction to mind! The present war—the second imperialist war—is not an accident; it does not result from the will of this or that dictator. It was predicted long ago. It derived its origin inexorably from the contradictions of international capitalist interests. Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people, the chief cause of war as of all other social evils—unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression—is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation.

With the present level of technology and skill of the workers, it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world, must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character. State power and domination of the economy can be torn from the hands of these rapacious imperialist cliques only by the revolutionary working class. That is the meaning of Lenin's warning that without "a series of successful revolutions" a new imperialist war would inevitably follow. The different predictions and promises which were made have been submitted to the test of events. The fairy tale of the "war to end all wars" has been proved a lie. Lenin's prediction has become tragic truth.

### **The Immediate Causes of the War**

The immediate cause of the present war is the rivalry between the old wealthy colonial empires, Great Britain and France, and the belated imperialist plunderers, Germany and Italy.

The nineteenth century was the era of the incontestable hegemony of the oldest capitalist power, Great Britain. From 1815 to 1914—true enough, not without isolated military ex-

plosions—"British peace" reigned. The British fleet, mightiest in the world, played the role of policeman of the seas. This era, however, has receded into the past. As early as the end of the last century, Germany, armed with modern technology, began to move toward first place in Europe. On the other side of the ocean an even more powerful country arose, a former British colony. The most important economic contradiction which led to the war of 1914-1918 was the rivalry between Great Britain and Germany. As for the United States, its participation in the war was of a preventive character—Germany could not be permitted to subjugate the European continent.

The defeat hurled Germany back into complete impotence. Dismembered, encircled by enemies, bankrupted by indemnities, weakened by the convulsions of civil war, she appeared to be out of the running for a long time to come, if not forever. On the European continent, first violin turned up temporarily in the hands of France. For victorious England, the balance sheet of the war left in the last analysis liabilities: increasing independence of the dominions; colonial movements for independence; loss of naval hegemony; lessening of the importance of her navy through the development of aviation.

Through inertia England still attempted to play the leading role on the world arena in the first few years after victory. Her conflicts with the United States began to assume an obviously threatening character. It seemed as though the next war would flare up between the two Anglo-Saxon aspirants to world domination. England, however, soon had to convince herself that her specific economic weight was inadequate for combat with the colossus across the ocean. Her agreement with the United States on naval equality signified formal renunciation of naval hegemony, already lost in actuality. Her replacement of free trade by tariff walls signified open admission of the defeat of British industry on the world market. Her renunciation of the policy of "splendid isolation" drew in its wake the introduction of compulsory military service. Thus all the sacred traditions were dusted away.

A similar lack of correspondence between her economic weight and her world position is characteristic of France too, but on a smaller scale. Her hegemony in Europe rested on a temporary conjuncture of circumstances created by the annihilation of Germany and the artificial combinations of the Versailles Treaty. The size of her population and the economic foundation supporting this hegemony were far too inadequate. When the hypnosis of victory wore off, the real relationship of forces surged to the surface. France proved to be much weaker than

she had appeared, not only to her friends but to her enemies. Seeking cover, she became in essence Great Britain's latest dominion.

Germany's regeneration on the basis of her first-rate technology and organizational abilities was inevitable. It came sooner than was thought possible, in large measure thanks to England's support of Germany against the USSR, against the excessive pretensions of France, and more remotely against the United States. Such international combinations proved successful for capitalist England more than once in the past so long as she remained the strongest power. In her senility she proved incapable of dealing with those spirits she had herself evoked.

Armed with a technology more modern, of greater flexibility, and of higher productive capacity, Germany once again began to squeeze England out of very important markets, particularly southeastern Europe and Latin America. In contrast to the nineteenth century, when the competition between capitalist countries developed on an expanding world market, the economic arena of struggle today is narrowing down so that nothing remains open to the imperialists except tearing pieces of the world market away from each other.

The initiative for the new redivision of the world this time as in 1914 belonged naturally to German imperialism. Caught off guard, the British government first attempted to buy its way out of war by concessions at the expense of others (Austria, Czechoslovakia). But this policy was short-lived. "Friendship" with Great Britain was only a brief tactical phase for Hitler. London had already conceded Hitler more than he had calculated on getting. The Munich agreement through which Chamberlain hoped to seal a long-time friendship with Germany led, on the contrary, to a hastening of the break. Hitler could expect nothing more from London—further expansion of Germany would strike at the life lines of Great Britain herself. Thus the "new era of peace" proclaimed by Chamberlain in October 1938 led within a few months to the most terrible of all wars.

### **The United States**

While Great Britain has exerted every effort since the first months of the war to seize blockaded Germany's vacated positions in the world market, the United States has almost automatically been driving Great Britain out. Two-thirds of the world's gold is concentrated in the American vaults. The re-

maining third is flowing to the same place. England's role as banker for the world is a thing of the past. Nor are matters in other spheres much better. While Great Britain's navy and merchant marine are suffering great losses, the American shipyards are building ships on a colossal scale, which will secure the predominance of the American fleet over the British and the Japanese. The United States is obviously preparing to adopt the *two power standard* (a navy stronger than the combined fleets of the next two strongest powers). The new program for the air fleet envisages securing the superiority of the United States over all the rest of the world.

However, the industrial, financial, and military strength of the United States, the foremost capitalist power in the world, does not at all insure the blossoming of American economic life, but on the contrary, invests the crisis of her social system with an especially malignant and convulsive character. Gold in the billions cannot be made use of, nor can the millions of unemployed! In the theses of the Fourth International, *War and the Fourth International*, published six years ago, it was predicted:

"U. S. capitalism is up against the same problems that pushed Germany in 1914 on the path of war. The world is divided? It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of "organizing Europe." The United States must "organize" the world. History is bringing humanity face to face with the volcanic eruption of American imperialism" (*Writings 33-34*, p. 302).

The "New Deal" and the "Good Neighbor" policies<sup>162</sup> were the final attempts to postpone the climax by ameliorating the social crisis through concessions and agreements. After the bankruptcy of this policy, which swallowed up tens of billions, nothing else remained for American imperialism but to resort to the method of the mailed fist. Under one or another pretext and slogan the United States will intervene in the tremendous clash in order to maintain its world dominion. The order and the time of the struggle between American capitalism and its enemies is not yet known—perhaps even by Washington. War with Japan would be a struggle for "living room" in the Pacific Ocean. War in the Atlantic, even if directed immediately against Germany, would be a struggle for the heritage of Great Britain.

The potential victory of Germany over the Allies hangs like a nightmare over Washington. With the European continent and the resources of its colonies as her base, with all the Euro-

pean munition factories and shipyards at her disposal, Germany—especially in combination with Japan in the Orient—would constitute a mortal danger for American imperialism. The present titanic battles on the fields of Europe are in this sense preparatory episodes in the struggle between Germany and America. France and England are only fortified positions of American capitalism, extended beyond the Atlantic. If the frontiers of England are located on the Rhine, as one of the British premiers put it, then the American imperialists might well say that the frontiers of the United States are on the Thames. In its feverish preparation of public opinion for the coming war, Washington does not spare noble indignation over the fate of Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium. . . . With the occupation of Denmark, the question of Greenland arose unexpectedly as being "geologically" a part of the Western Hemisphere and containing by happy chance deposits of cryolite, indispensable in the production of aluminum. Nor does Washington overlook enslaved China, the helpless Philippines, the orphaned Dutch Indies, and open sea routes. Thus philanthropic sympathies for oppressed nations and even considerations of geology are driving the United States into war.

The American armed forces, however, could intervene successfully only so long as France and the British Isles remain solid bases of support. Should France be occupied and German troops appear on the Thames, the relationship of forces would shift drastically to the disadvantage of the United States. Washington is forced by these considerations to speed up all the tempos but likewise to ponder the question: has the opportune moment not been missed?

Against the official position of the White House are launched the noisy protests of American isolationism, which is itself only another variety of the very same imperialism. The section of the capitalists whose interests are bound up primarily with the American continent, Australia, and the Far East calculate that in the event of the defeat of the Allies, the United States would automatically gain a monopoly for its own benefit not only of Latin America but also of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. As for China, the Dutch Indies, and the Orient in general, it is the conviction of the entire ruling class of the United States that war with Japan is in any case inevitable in the near future. Under the guise of isolationism and pacifism, an influential section of the bourgeoisie is working out a program for American continental expansion and preparing

for the struggle with Japan. War against Germany for the domination of the world, according to this plan, is only deferred. As for petty-bourgeois pacifists such as Norman Thomas and his fraternity, they are only choir boys in one of the imperialist clans.

Our struggle against United States intervention into the war has nothing in common with isolationism and pacifism. We tell the workers openly that the imperialist government cannot fail to drag this country into war. The dispute within the ruling class involves only the question of when to enter the war and against whom to level the fire first. To count upon holding the United States to neutrality by means of newspaper articles and pacifist resolutions is like trying to hold back the tide with a broom. The real struggle against war means the class struggle against imperialism and a merciless exposure of petty-bourgeois pacifism. Only revolution could prevent the American bourgeoisie from intervening in the second imperialist war or beginning the third imperialist war. All other methods are either charlatanism or stupidity or a combination of both.

### The Defense of the "Fatherland"

Almost a hundred years ago when the national state still represented a relatively progressive factor, the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed that the proletarians have no fatherland. Their only goal is the creation of the toilers' fatherland embracing the whole world. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the bourgeois state with its armies and tariff walls became the worst brake on the development of productive forces, which demand a much more extensive arena. A socialist who comes out today for the defense of the "fatherland" is playing the same reactionary role as the peasants of the Vendee, who rushed to the defense of the feudal regime, that is, of their own chains.<sup>163</sup>

In recent years and even months, the world has observed with astonishment how easily states vanish from the map of Europe: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium. . . . The political map has been reshaped with equal speed in no other epoch save that of the Napoleonic wars. At that time it was a question of outlived feudal states which had to give way before the bourgeois national state. Today it is a question of outlived bourgeois states which must give way before the socialist federation of the peoples. The chain breaks as always at its weakest link. The struggle of the imperialist bandits leaves as little room for in-

dependent small states as does the vicious competition of trusts and cartels for small independent manufacturers and merchants.

Because of its strategic position Germany considers it more profitable to attack its main enemies through the small and neutral countries. Great Britain and France on the contrary deem it more profitable to cover themselves with the neutrality of the small states and let Germany drive them through her blows into the camp of the "democratic" Allies. The gist of the matter is not altered by this difference in strategic methods. Between the cog-wheels of the great imperialist countries the small satellites are being ground to dust. The "defense" of the huge fatherlands requires the overthrow of a dozen small and middle-sized ones.

But even with regard to the large states, what is involved for the bourgeoisie is not at all a question of defending the fatherland, but rather of markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials, and spheres of influence. The bourgeoisie never defends the fatherland for the sake of the fatherland. They defend private property, privileges, profits. Whenever these sacred values are threatened, the bourgeoisie immediately takes to the road of defeatism. That was the way of the Russian bourgeoisie, whose sons after the October Revolution fought and are once again ready to fight in every army in the world against their own former fatherland. In order to save their capital, the Spanish bourgeoisie turned to Mussolini and Hitler for military aid against their own people. The Norwegian bourgeoisie aided Hitler's invasion of Norway. Thus it always was and always will be.

Official patriotism is a mask for the exploiting interests. Class conscious workers throw this mask contemptuously aside. They do not defend the bourgeois fatherland, but the interests of the toilers and the oppressed of their own country and of the entire world. The theses of the Fourth International state:

"Against the reactionary slogan of 'national defense' it is necessary to advance the slogan of the revolutionary destruction of the national state. To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of the Socialist United States of Europe as a stage on the road to the Socialist United States of the World" (*Ibid.*, pp. 300-01).

### The "Struggle for Democracy"

No less a lie is the slogan of a war for democracy against fascism. As if the workers have forgotten that the British gov-

ernment helped Hitler and his hangman's crew gain power! The imperialist democracies are in reality the greatest aristocracies in history. England, France, Holland, Belgium rest on the enslavement of colonial peoples. The democracy of the United States rests upon the seizure of the vast wealth of an entire continent. All the efforts of these "democracies" are directed toward the preservation of their privileged position. A considerable portion of the war burden is unloaded by imperialist democracies onto their colonies. The slaves are obliged to furnish blood and gold in order to insure the possibility of their masters remaining slaveholders. The small capitalist democracies without colonies are satellites of the great empires and glean a portion of their colonial profits. The ruling classes of these states are ready to renounce democracy at any moment in order to preserve their privileges.

In the case of tiny Norway the inner mechanics of decaying democracy have once again been revealed before the whole world. The Norwegian bourgeoisie made simultaneous use of the social democratic government and the fascist policemen, judges, and officers. At the first serious impact, the democratic heads were swept away and the fascist bureaucracy, which immediately found a common language with Hitler, became master of the house. With different national variations this same experiment was previously performed in Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and a number of other states. In a moment of danger the bourgeoisie has always been able to free from democratic trappings the real apparatus of its rule as the direct instrument of finance capital. Only the hopelessly blind are capable of believing that the British and French generals and admirals are waging a war against fascism!

The war has not halted the process of the transformation of democracies into reactionary dictatorships, but on the contrary is carrying this process to its conclusion before our very eyes.

Within every country as well as on the world arena, the war strengthened immediately the most reactionary groups and institutions. The general staffs, those nests of Bonapartist conspiracy, the malignant dens of the police, the gangs of hired patriots, the churches of all creeds, are immediately pushed to the forefront. The Papal Court, the focal point of obscurantism and hatred among men, is being wooed from all sides, especially by the Protestant President Roosevelt. Material and spiritual decline always brings in its wake police oppression and an increased demand for the opium of religion.

Seeking to gain the advantages of a totalitarian regime, the

imperialist democracies launch their own defense with a redoubled drive against the working class and the persecution of revolutionary organizations. The war danger and now the war itself is utilized by them first and foremost to crush internal enemies. The bourgeoisie invariably and unswervingly follows the rule: "The main enemy is in one's own country."

As is always the case, the weakest ones suffer the most. The weakest ones in the present slaughter of the peoples are the countless refugees from all countries, among them the revolutionary exiles. Bourgeois patriotism manifests itself first of all in the brutal treatment of defenseless foreigners. Before the concentration camps for war prisoners were built, all the democracies constructed concentration camps for the revolutionary exiles. The governments of the entire world, particularly the government of the USSR, have written the blackest chapter in our epoch through their treatment of the refugees, the exiles, the homeless. We send our warmest greetings to our imprisoned and persecuted brothers and tell them not to lose heart. From the capitalist prisons and concentration camps will come most of the leaders of tomorrow's Europe and the world!

### The War Slogans of the Nazis

Hitler's official slogans in general do not warrant examination. The struggle for "national unification" has long since been shown to be a lie, for Hitler is converting the national state into a state of many nations, trampling under foot the liberty and unity of other peoples. The struggle for "living room" is nothing but camouflage for imperialist expansion, that is, the policy of annexation and plunder. The racial justification for this expansion is a lie; National Socialism changes its racial sympathies and antipathies in accordance with strategic considerations. A somewhat more stable element in fascist propaganda is, perhaps, anti-Semitism, which Hitler has given a zoological form, discovering the true language of "race" and "blood" in the dog's bark and the pig's grunt. Not for nothing did Frederick Engels label anti-Semitism the "socialism of idiots"! The sole feature of fascism which is not counterfeit is its will to power, subjugation, and plunder. Fascism is a chemically pure distillation of the culture of imperialism.

The democratic governments, who in their day hailed Hitler as a crusader against Bolshevism, now make him out to be some kind of Satan unexpectedly loosed from the depths of hell, who violates the sanctity of treaties, boundary lines, rules, and regulations. If it were not for Hitler the capitalist world would blossom like a garden. What a miserable lie! This Ger-

man epileptic with a calculating machine in his skull and unlimited power in his hands did not fall from the sky or come up out of hell: he is nothing but the personification of all the destructive forces of imperialism. Just as Genghis Khan and Tamerlane appeared to the weaker pastoral peoples as destroying scourges of God, whereas in reality they did nothing but express the need of all the pastoral tribes for more pasture land and the plunder of settled areas, so Hitler, rocking the old colonial powers to their foundations, does nothing but give a more finished expression to the imperialist will to power. Through Hitler, world capitalism, driven to desperation by its own impasse, has begun to press a razor-sharp dagger into its own bowels.

The butchers of the second imperialist war will not succeed in transforming Hitler into a scapegoat for their own sins.

Before the judgment bar of the proletariat all the present rulers will answer. Hitler will do no more than occupy first place among the criminals in the dock.

### **The Preponderance of Germany**

Whatever may be the war's outcome, the preponderance of Germany has already been clearly shown. Unquestionably Hitler fails to possess any secret "new weapon." But the perfection of all the different existing weapons and the well-coordinated combination of these weapons—on the basis of a more highly rationalized industry—lends German militarism enormous weight. Military dynamics is closely bound up with the peculiar features of a totalitarian regime: unity of will, concentrated initiative, secrecy of preparation, suddenness of execution. The peace of Versailles, moreover, has done the Allies a poor service. After fifteen years of German disarmament, Hitler was compelled to start building an army from nothing, and thanks to this the army is free of routine and does not have to drag along obsolete technique and equipment. The tactical training of troops is inspired by new ideas based on the latest word in technology. Apparently only the United States is destined to surpass the German murder machine.

The weakness of France and Great Britain was not unexpected. The theses of the Fourth International (1934) state: "The collapse of the League of Nations is indissolubly bound up with the beginning of the collapse of French hegemony on the European continent." This programmatic document declares further that "ruling England is ever less successful in its scheming designs," that the British bourgeoisie is "terrified

by the disintegration of its empire, by the revolutionary movement in India, by the instability of its positions in China." The power of the Fourth International lies in this, that its program is capable of withstanding the test of great events.

The industry of England and France, thanks to the assured flow of colonial super-profits, has long lagged both in technology and organization. In addition, the so-called "defense of democracy" by the socialist parties and trade unions created an extremely privileged political situation for the British and French bourgeoisie. Privileges always foster sluggishness and stagnation. If Germany today reveals so colossal a preponderance over France and England, then the lion's share of the responsibility rests with the social-patriotic defenders of democracy who prevented the proletariat from tearing England and France out of atrophy through a timely socialist revolution.

### "The Program of Peace"

In return for the enslavement of the peoples Hitler promises to establish a "German peace" in Europe for a period of centuries. An empty mirage! The "British peace" after the victory over Napoleon could endure a century—not a thousand years!—solely because Britain was the pioneer of a new technology and a progressive system of production. Notwithstanding the strength of her industry, present-day Germany, like her enemies, is the standard bearer of a doomed social system. Hitler's victory would in reality mean not peace but the beginning of a new series of bloody clashes on a world scale. By overthrowing the British empire, reducing France to the status of Bohemia and Moravia, basing herself on the European continent and its colonies, Germany undoubtedly would become the first power in the world. Along with her, Italy at best might—not for very long—seize control of the Mediterranean basin. But being the first power does not mean being the only power. The struggle for "living room" would only enter a new stage.

The "new order" which Japan is preparing to establish, basing herself on German victory, has as its perspective the extension of Japanese rule over the greater part of the Asiatic continent. The Soviet Union would find itself hemmed in between a Germanized Europe and Japanized Asia. All three Americas, as well as Australia and New Zealand, would fall to the United States. If we take into account the provincial Italian empire in addition, the world would be temporarily divided into five "living rooms." But imperialism by its very nature abhors any

division of power. In order to free his hands against America, Hitler would have to settle bloody accounts with his friends of yesterday, Stalin and Mussolini. Japan and the United States would not remain disinterested observers of the new struggle. The third imperialist war would be waged not by national states and not by empires of the old type but by whole continents. . . . Hitler's victory in the present war would thus signify not a thousand years of "German peace" but bloody chaos for many decades if not centuries.

But neither would an Allied triumph result in any more radiant consequences. Victorious France could reestablish her position as a great power only by dismembering Germany, restoring the Hapsburgs, Balkanizing Europe. Great Britain could again play a leading role in European affairs only by refurbishing the game of playing on the contradictions between Germany and France on the one side, Europe and America on the other. This would signify a new and ten times worse edition of the peace of Versailles with infinitely more malignant effects upon the weakened organism of Europe. To this it must be added that an Allied victory without American aid is improbable, while the United States this time would demand a much higher price for its assistance than in the last war. The debased and exhausted Europe—the object of Herbert Hoover philanthropy—would become the bankrupt debtor of its transatlantic savior.

Finally, if we suppose the least probable variant, namely the conclusion of peace by the exhausted adversaries in accordance with the pacifist formula "no victors, no vanquished," this would signify restoration of the international chaos that existed prior to the war, but this time based on bloody ruins, on exhaustion, on embitterment. In a short period of time all the old antagonisms would cut through to the surface with explosive violence and break out in new international convulsions.

The promise of the Allies to create a democratic European federation this time is the crudest of all pacifist lies. The state is not an abstraction but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. So long as trusts and banks are not expropriated for the benefit of the people, the struggle between states is just as inevitable as the struggle between the trusts themselves. Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous a utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts. So long as capitalist property is preserved, a democratic "federation" would be nothing but

a worse repetition of the League of Nations, containing all its vices minus only its illusions.

In vain do the imperialist masters of destiny attempt to revive a program of salvation which was completely discredited by the experience of the past decades. In vain do their petty-bourgeois flunkies warm up pacifist panaceas which long ago changed into their own caricature. The advanced workers will not be duped. Peace will not be concluded by those forces now waging war. The workers and soldiers will dictate their own program of peace!

### Defense of the USSR

Stalin's alliance with Hitler, which raised the curtain on the world war and led directly to the enslavement of the Polish people, resulted from the weakness of the USSR and the Kremlin's panic in face of Germany. Responsibility for this weakness rests with no one but this same Kremlin; its internal policy, which opened an abyss between the ruling caste and the people; its foreign policy, which sacrificed the interests of the world revolution to the interests of the Stalinist clique.

The seizure of eastern Poland—a pledge of the alliance with Hitler and a guarantee against Hitler—was accompanied by the nationalization of semifeastal and capitalist property in western Ukraine and western White Russia. Without this the Kremlin could not have incorporated the occupied territory into the USSR. The strangled and desecrated October Revolution served notice that it was still alive.

In Finland the Kremlin did not succeed in accomplishing a similar social overturn. The imperialist mobilization of world public opinion "in defense of Finland"; the threat of direct intervention by England and France; the impatience of Hitler, who had to seize Denmark and Norway before French and British troops appeared on Scandinavian soil—all this compelled the Kremlin to renounce sovietization of Finland and to limit itself to the seizure of the indispensable strategic positions.

The invasion of Finland unquestionably aroused on the part of the Soviet populace profound condemnation. However, the advanced workers understood that the crimes of the Kremlin oligarchy do not strike off the agenda the question of the existence of the USSR. Its defeat in the world war would signify not merely the overthrow of the totalitarian bureaucracy but the liquidation of the new forms of property, the collapse of the first experiment in planned economy, and the transformation of

the entire country into a colony; that is, the handing over to imperialism of colossal natural resources which would give it a respite until the third world war. Neither the peoples of the USSR nor the world working class as a whole care for such an outcome.

Finland's resistance to the USSR was, with all its heroism, no more an act of independent national defense than Norway's subsequent resistance to Germany. The Helsinki government itself understood this when it chose to capitulate to the USSR rather than transform Finland into a military base for England and France. Our wholehearted recognition of the right of every nation to self-determination does not alter the fact that in the course of the present war this right does not have much more weight than thistledown. We must determine the basic line of our policy in accordance with basic and not tenth-rate factors. The theses of the Fourth International state:

"The concept of national defense, especially when it coincides with the idea of the defense of democracy, can most easily delude the workers of small and neutral countries (Switzerland, partly Belgium, Scandinavian countries . . .). . . . Only a hopelessly dull bourgeois from a godforsaken Swiss village (like Robert Grimm) can seriously think that the world war into which he is drawn is waged for the defense of Swiss independence" (*Ibid.*, p. 308).

These words today acquire a special meaning. In no way superior to the Swiss social-patriot Robert Grimm are those pseudorevolutionary petty bourgeois who believe that it is possible to determine proletarian strategy in relation to the defense of the USSR through reliance upon such tactical episodes as the Red Army's invasion of Finland.

Extremely eloquent in its unanimity and fury was the campaign that the world bourgeoisie launched over the Soviet-Finnish war. Neither the perfidy nor the violence of the Kremlin prior to this had aroused the indignation of the bourgeoisie, for the entire history of world politics is written in perfidy and violence. Their fear and indignation arose over the prospect of a social overturn in Finland upon the pattern of the one engendered by the Red Army in Eastern Poland. What was involved was a fresh threat to capitalist property. The anti-Soviet campaign, which had a class character through and through, disclosed once again that the USSR by virtue of the social foundations laid down by the October Revolution, upon which the existence of the bureaucracy itself is dependent in the last analysis, still remains a workers' state, terrifying to the bour-

geoisie of the whole world. Episodic agreements between the bourgeoisie and the USSR do not alter the fact that "taken on a historic scale the antagonism between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is infinitely deeper than the antagonisms that set the individual capitalist countries in opposition to each other."

Many petty-bourgeois radicals, who only yesterday were still ready to consider the Soviet Union as an axis for grouping the "democratic" forces against fascism, have suddenly discovered, now that their own fatherlands have been threatened by Hitler, that Moscow, which did not come to their aid, follows an imperialist policy, and that there is no difference between the USSR and the fascist countries.

Liel will respond every class conscious worker—there is a difference. The bourgeoisie appraises this social difference better and more profoundly than do the radical windbags. To be sure, the nationalization of the means of production in one country, and a backward one at that, still does not insure the building of socialism. But it is capable of furthering the primary prerequisite of socialism, namely, the planned development of the productive forces. To turn one's back on the nationalization of the means of production on the ground that in and of itself it does not create the well-being of the masses is tantamount to sentencing a granite foundation to destruction on the ground that it is impossible to live without walls and a roof. The class conscious worker knows that a successful struggle for complete emancipation is unthinkable without the defense of conquests already gained, however modest these may be. All the more obligatory therefore is the defense of so colossal a conquest as planned economy against the restoration of capitalist relations. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones.

The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the class character of the state—imperialist, colonial, workers'—and the reciprocal relations between them, as well as the inner contradictions in each of them, enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in every given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy that would aid imperialism against the USSR.

The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revo-

lution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

### For the Revolutionary Overthrow of Stalin's Bonapartist Clique

After five years fawning on the "democracies," the Kremlin revealed cynical contempt for the world proletariat by concluding an alliance with Hitler and helping him to strangle the Polish people; it boasted with shameful chauvinism on the eve of the Finnish invasion and displayed no less shameful military incapacity in the subsequent struggle; it made noisy promises to "emancipate" the Finnish people from the capitalists and then made a cowardly capitulation to Hitler—this was the performance of the Stalinist regime in the critical hours of history.

The Moscow trials had already revealed that the totalitarian oligarchy had become an absolute obstacle in the path of the country's development. The rising level of the increasingly complex needs of economic life can no longer tolerate bureaucratic strangulation. The gang of parasites is not, however, prepared to make any concessions. In struggling for its position it destroys everything that is best in the country. It should not be thought that the people who accomplished three revolutions in twelve years have suddenly become stupid. They are suppressed and disoriented but they are watching and thinking. The bureaucracy reminds them every day of its existence by its arbitrary rule, oppression, rapacity, and bloody vengefulness. Semistarved workers and collective farmers among themselves whisper with hatred about the spendthrift caprices of rabid commissars. For Stalin's sixtieth birthday the workers in the Urals were forced to toil a year and a half on a gigantic portrait of the hated "father of the peoples" made out of precious stones—an undertaking worthy of a Persian Xerxes or an Egyptian Cleopatra. A regime capable of indulging in such abominations cannot fail to arouse the hatred of the masses.

Foreign policy corresponds to domestic policy. Had the Kremlin government expressed the real interests of the workers' state; had the Comintern served the cause of world revolution; the popular masses of tiny Finland would inevitably have gravitated toward the USSR, and the invasion of the Red Army either would not at all have been necessary or would have been accepted at once by the Finnish people as a revolutionary

act of emancipation. In reality the entire previous policy of the Kremlin repelled the Finnish workers and peasants away from the USSR. While Hitler has been able to count upon the assistance of the so-called "fifth column" in the neutral countries he invades, Stalin did not find any support whatever in Finland despite the tradition of the 1918 insurrection and the long existence of the Finnish Communist Party.<sup>164</sup> Under these conditions the invasion of the Red Army assumed the character of direct and open military violence. The responsibility for this violence falls wholly and indivisibly upon the Moscow oligarchy.

War is the acid test of a regime. As a consequence of the first period of the war, the international position of the USSR, despite the window-trimming successes, has already obviously worsened. The foreign policy of the Kremlin has repelled from the USSR broad circles of the world working class and the oppressed peoples. The strategic bases of support seized by Moscow will represent a third-rate factor in the conflict of world forces. Meanwhile Germany has obtained the most important and the most industrialized section of Poland and gained a common frontier with the USSR, that is, a gateway to the east. Through Scandinavia, Germany dominates the Baltic Sea, transforming the Gulf of Finland into a tightly corked bottle. Embittered Finland comes under Hitler's direct control. Instead of weak neutral states, the USSR now confronts a powerful Germany on the other side of its Leningrad border. The weakness of the Red Army decapitated by Stalin has been demonstrated to the whole world. The centrifugal nationalist tendencies within the USSR have intensified. The prestige of the Kremlin leadership has declined. Germany in the West, Japan in the East now feel infinitely more confident than before the Kremlin's Finnish adventure.

In his meager arsenal Stalin could find but one and only one answer to the ominous warning of events: he replaced Voroshilov by an even emptier nonentity, Timoshenko.<sup>165</sup> As always in these instances the goal of this maneuver is to divert the anger of the people and the army away from the main criminal responsible for the misfortunes, and to place at the head of the army an individual whose reliability is guaranteed by his insignificance. The Kremlin has once again revealed itself as the central nest of defeatism. Only by destroying this nest can the security of the USSR be safeguarded.

The preparation of the revolutionary overthrow of the Moscow ruling caste is one of the main tasks of the Fourth International. This task is not simple or easy. It demands heroism and sacrifice. However, the epoch of great convulsions upon which man-

kind has entered will strike the Kremlin oligarchy with blow after blow, will break up its totalitarian apparatus, will raise the self-confidence of the working masses and thereby facilitate the formation of the Soviet section of the Fourth International. Events will work in our favor if we are capable of assisting them!

### Colonial Peoples in the War

By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan centers, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation.

If a program of peaceful social transformation is utopian for the advanced capitalist countries, then the program of peaceful liberation for the colonies is doubly utopian. On the other hand, the last of the semi-free backward countries have been enslaved before our eyes (Ethiopia, Albania, China . . . ). The entire present war is a war over colonies. They are hunted by some; held by others who refuse to give them up. Neither side has the least intention of liberating them voluntarily. The declining metropolitan centers are impelled to drain away as much as possible from the colonies and to give them in return as little as possible. Only the direct and open revolutionary struggle of the enslaved peoples can clear the road for their emancipation.

In the colonial and semicolonial countries the struggle for an independent national state, and consequently the "defense of the fatherland," is different in principle from that of the imperialist countries. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world gives unconditional support to the struggle of China or India for national independence, for this struggle, by "tearing the backward peoples from Asiaticism, sectionalism, and foreign bondage, . . . strike[s] powerful blows at the imperialist states."

At the same time, the Fourth International knows in advance and openly warns the backward nations that their belated national states can no longer count upon an independent democratic development. Surrounded by decaying capitalism and enmeshed in the imperialist contradictions, the independence of a backward state inevitably will be semi-fictitious, and its political regime, under the influence of internal class contradictions and external pressure, will unavoidably fall into dictatorship against the people—such is the regime of the "People's" party in Turkey, the Kuomintang in China; Gandhi's regime will be similar tomorrow in India. The struggle for the national

independence of the colonies is, from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat, only a transitional stage on the road toward drawing the backward countries into the international socialist revolution.

The Fourth International does not draw watertight distinctions between the backward and the advanced countries, the democratic and the socialist revolutions. It combines them and subordinates them to the world struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors. Just as the only genuinely revolutionary force of our era is the international proletariat, so the only real program to liquidate all oppression, social and national, is the program of the permanent revolution.

### **The Great Lesson of China**

The tragic experience of China is a great lesson for the oppressed peoples. The Chinese revolution of 1925-27 had every chance for victory. A unified and transformed China would constitute at this time a powerful fortress of freedom in the Far East. The entire fate of Asia and to a degree the whole world might have been different. But the Kremlin, lacking confidence in the Chinese masses and seeking the friendship of the generals, utilized its whole weight to subordinate the Chinese proletariat to the bourgeoisie and so helped Chiang Kai-shek to crush the Chinese revolution. Disillusioned, disunited, and weakened, China was laid open to Japanese invasion.

Like every doomed regime, the Stalinist oligarchy is already incapable of learning from the lessons of history. At the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war, the Kremlin again placed the Communist Party in bondage to Chiang Kai-shek, crushing in the bud the revolutionary initiative of the Chinese proletariat. This war, now nearing its third anniversary, might long since have been finished by a real catastrophe for Japan, if China had conducted it as a genuine people's war based on an agrarian revolution and setting the Japanese soldiery aflame with its blaze. But the Chinese bourgeoisie fears its own armed masses more than it does the Japanese ravishers. If Chiang Kai-shek, the sinister hangman of the Chinese revolution, is compelled by circumstances to wage a war, his program is still based, as before, on the oppression of his own workers and compromise with the imperialists.

The war in eastern Asia will become more and more interlocked with the imperialist world war. The Chinese people will be able to reach independence only under the leadership of the

youthful and self-sacrificing proletariat, in whom the indispensable self-confidence will be rekindled by the rebirth of the world revolution. They will indicate a firm line of march. The course of events places on the order of the day the development of our Chinese section into a powerful revolutionary party.

### **Tasks of the Revolution in India**

In the very first weeks of war the Indian masses exerted their growing pressure, compelling the opportunist "national" leaders to speak in an unaccustomed tongue. But woe to the Indian people if they place trust in high-sounding words! Under the mask of the slogan of national independence, Gandhi has already hastened to proclaim his refusal to create difficulties for Great Britain during the present severe crisis. As if the oppressed anywhere or at any time have ever been able to free themselves except by exploiting the difficulties of their oppressors!

Gandhi's "moral" revulsion from violence merely reflects the fear of the Indian bourgeoisie before their own masses. They have very good grounds for their foreboding that British imperialism will drag them down too in the collapse. London for its part warns that at the first display of disobedience it will apply "all necessary measures"—including, of course, the air force in which it is deficient at the western front. There is a clear-cut division of labor between the colonial bourgeoisie and the British government: Gandhi needs the threats of Chamberlain and Churchill in order more successfully to paralyze the revolutionary movement.

In the near future the antagonism between the Indian masses and the bourgeoisie promises to become sharper as the imperialist war more and more becomes a gigantic commercial enterprise for the Indian bourgeoisie. By opening up an exceptionally favorable market for raw materials it may rapidly promote Indian industry. If the complete destruction of the British empire slashes the umbilical cord linking Indian capital with the City of London, the national bourgeoisie would quickly seek a new patron in New York's Wall Street. The material interests of the bourgeoisie determine their politics with the force of the laws of gravitation.

So long as the liberating movement is controlled by the exploiting class it is incapable of getting out of a blind alley. The only thing that can weld India together is the agrarian revolution under the banner of national independence. A revolution led by the proletariat will be directed not only against

British rule but also against the Indian princes, foreign concessions, the top layer of the national bourgeoisie, and the leaders of the National Congress, as well as against the leaders of the Moslem League.<sup>166</sup> It is the pressing task of the Fourth International to create a stable and powerful section in India.

The treacherous policy of class collaboration, through which the Kremlin for the last five years has been helping the capitalist governments prepare for war, was abruptly liquidated by the bourgeoisie, just as soon as they ceased to need a pacifist disguise. But in the colonial and semicolonial countries—not only in China and India, but in Latin America—the fraud of the "People's Fronts" still continues to paralyze the working masses, converting them into cannon-fodder for the "progressive" bourgeoisie and in this way creating an indigenous political basis for imperialism.

### The Future of Latin America

The monstrous growth of armaments in the United States prepares for a violent solution of the complex contradictions in the Western Hemisphere and should soon pose point-blank the question of the destiny of the Latin American countries. The interlude of the "Good Neighbor" policy is coming to an end. Roosevelt or his successor will quickly take the iron fist out of the velvet glove. The theses of the Fourth International state:

"South and Central America will be able to tear themselves out of backwardness and enslavement only by uniting all their states into one powerful federation. But it is not the belated South American bourgeoisie, a thoroughly venal agency of foreign imperialism, who will be called upon to solve this task, but the young South American proletariat, the chosen leader of the oppressed masses. The slogan in the struggle against violence and intrigues of world imperialism and against the bloody work of native comprador cliques is therefore: the *Soviet United States of South and Central America*" (*Ibid.*, p. 306).

Written six years ago, these lines have now acquired a particularly burning actuality.

Only under its own revolutionary direction is the proletariat of the colonies and the semicolonies capable of achieving invincible collaboration with the proletariat of the metropolitan

centers, and with the world working class as a whole. Only this collaboration can lead the oppressed peoples to complete and final emancipation, through the overthrow of imperialism the world over. A victory of the international proletariat will deliver the colonial countries from the long-drawn-out travail of capitalist development, by opening up the possibility of arriving at socialism hand in hand with the proletariat of the advanced countries.

The perspective of the permanent revolution in no case signifies that the backward countries must await the signal from the advanced ones, or that the colonial peoples should patiently wait for the proletariat of the metropolitan centers to free them. Help comes to him who helps himself. Workers must develop the revolutionary struggle in every country, colonial or imperialist, where favorable conditions have been established, and through this set an example for the workers of other countries. Only initiative and activity, resoluteness and boldness can really materialize the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!"

### **The Responsibility of Treacherous Leaders for the War**

The victory of the Spanish revolution could have opened up an era of revolutionary overturns throughout Europe and so forestalled the present war. But that heroic revolution, which contained within itself every possibility of victory, was smothered in the embrace of the Second and Third Internationals, with the active cooperation of the anarchists. The world proletariat became poorer in its loss of another great hope and richer in the lessons of another monstrous betrayal.

The mighty movement of the French proletariat in June 1936 revealed exceptionally favorable conditions for the revolutionary conquest of power.<sup>167</sup> A French Soviet republic would immediately have gained revolutionary hegemony of Europe, created revolutionary repercussions in every country, rocked the totalitarian regimes, and in this way saved humanity from the present imperialist slaughter with its countless victims. But the thoroughly debased, cowardly, and treacherous policies of Leon Blum and Leon Jouhaux, with the active support of the French section of the Comintern, led to the collapse of one of the most promising movements of the last decade.

The strangling of the Spanish revolution and the sabotaging of the proletarian offensive in France—these two tragic facts stand at the threshold of the present war. The bourgeoisie convinced itself that with such "labor leaders" at its disposal it could go ahead with anything, even a new slaughter of

peoples. The leaders of the Second International prevented the proletariat from overthrowing the bourgeoisie at the close of the first imperialist war. The leaders of the Second and Third Internationals helped the bourgeoisie unloose a second imperialist war. Let it become their political grave!

### The Second International

The war of 1914-1918 split the Second International at once into two camps separated by trenches. Every social democratic party defended its fatherland. Not until several years after the war did the traitorous warring brethren become reconciled and proclaim mutual amnesty.

Today the situation in the Second International has changed sharply—on the surface. All its sections without exception are politically on one side of the military lines, in the camp of the Allies: some because they are parties in the democratic countries, others because they are emigres from belligerent or neutral countries. The German Social Democracy which followed a despicable chauvinist policy during the first imperialist war under the Hohenzollern banner, today is a party of "defeatism" in the service of France and England. It would be inexcusable to believe that these case-hardened lackeys have become revolutionists. There is a simpler explanation. The Germany of Wilhelm II offered the reformists sufficient openings for personal sinecures in the parliamentary bodies, municipalities, trade unions, and other places. The defense of imperial Germany was the defense of a well-filled trough in which the conservative labor bureaucracy buried its snout. "Social Democracy remains patriotic just so long as the political regime assures it its profits and privileges," warned our theses six years ago. Russian Mensheviks and Narodniks, who were patriots even under the czar—when they had their own Duma fractions, their own newspapers, their own trade union functionaries, and hoped for further advances along this road—now that they have lost all this, hold a defeatist position in regard to the USSR.

Consequently the present "unanimity" of the Second International is explainable by the fact that all of its sections hope that the Allies will save them their posts and revenues in the labor bureaucracy of the democratic countries and restore these posts and revenues in the totalitarian countries. The Social Democracy does not go beyond impotent daydreams about the patronage of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. These political invalids are completely incapable of struggle even where their own interests are involved.

This was revealed most clearly in Scandinavia, which appeared to be the most secure sanctuary of the Second International and where all three countries were governed for a period of years by the sober, realistic, reformist, and pacifist Social Democracy. Socialism was what these gentlemen called the conservative royal democracy, plus the state church, plus the niggardly social reforms made possible for a time by limited military expenditures. Backed by the League of Nations and protected by the shield of "neutrality," the Scandinavian governments calculated on generations of tranquil and peaceful development. But the imperialist masters paid no attention to their calculations. They were compelled to dodge the blows of fate. Upon the USSR invading Finland, all three Scandinavian governments proclaimed themselves neutral so far as Finland was concerned. Upon Germany's invasion of Denmark and Norway, Sweden declared herself neutral so far as both victims of aggression were concerned. Denmark contrived to declare herself neutral even in relation to herself. Norway, under the gun muzzles of her guardian England, alone made a few symbolic gestures of self-defense. These heroes are fully prepared to live at the expense of the democratic fatherland, but feel disinclined to die for it. The war which they did not foresee has in passing overthrown their hopes for a peaceful evolution under King and God. The Scandinavian paradise, final refuge of the Second International's hopes, has been transformed into a tiny sector of the general imperialist hell.

The Social Democratic opportunists know but one policy—that of passive adaptation. Under the conditions of decaying capitalism nothing remains open to them but the surrender of one position after another, the whittling away of their already miserable program, the lowering of their demands, the renunciation of demands altogether, continuous retreat further and further back until there is no place left to retreat except a rat hole. But even there the pitiless hand of imperialism drags them out by the tail. Such is a brief history of the Second International. It is being killed by the present war for the second time and, one must think, this time forever.

### **The Third International**

The policy of the degenerated Third International—a mixture of crude opportunism and unbridled adventurism—exercises an influence upon the working class which is, if possible, even more demoralizing than the policy of its elder brother,

the Second International. The revolutionary party builds its entire policy upon the class consciousness of the workers; the Comintern is preoccupied with nothing but contaminating and poisoning this class consciousness.

The official propagandists of each of the belligerent camps expose, sometimes quite correctly, the crimes of the opposing camp. Goebbels tells a good deal of truth about British violence in India. The French and English press say a great many penetrating things about the foreign policy of Hitler and of Stalin. Nevertheless this one-sided propaganda by itself represents the worst chauvinist poison. Half-truths are the most dangerous kind of lies.

The entire present propaganda of the Comintern belongs to this category. After five years of the crudest fawning upon the democracies, when the whole of "communism" was reduced to the monotonous indictment of fascist aggressors, the Comintern suddenly discovered in the autumn of 1939 the criminal imperialism of the Western democracies. Left about face! From then on not a single word of condemnation about the destruction of Czechoslovakia and Poland, the seizure of Denmark and Norway, and the shocking bestialities inflicted by Hitler's gangs on the Polish and Jewish people! Hitler was made out to be a peace-loving vegetarian continually being provoked by the Western imperialists. The Anglo-French alliance was referred to in the Comintern press as the "imperialist bloc against the German people." Goebbels himself could have cooked up nothing better! The emigre German Communist Party burned with the flame of love for the fatherland. And since the German fatherland had not ceased to be fascist it turned out that the German Communist Party held—a social-fascist position. The time had finally come when Stalin's theory of social fascism took on flesh and blood.<sup>168</sup>

At first sight the conduct of the French and English sections of the Communist International appeared to be diametrically opposite. In contradistinction to the Germans, they were compelled to attack their own government. But this sudden defeatism was not internationalism, but a distorted variety of patriotism—these gentlemen consider their fatherland to be the Kremlin, on which their welfare depends. Many of the French Stalinists behaved with unquestionable courage under persecution. But the political content of this courage was besmirched by their embellishment of the rapacious policy of the enemy camp. What must the French workers think of it?

Revolutionary internationalists have always been portrayed by reaction as agents of a foreign enemy. The Comintern

created a situation for its French and English sections that made them provide the very grounds for such an accusation, and thereby forcibly drove the workers into the patriotic camp or condemned them to confusion and passivity.

The policy of the Kremlin is simple: it sold Hitler the Comintern along with oil and manganese. But the doglike servility with which these people allowed themselves to be sold irrefutably testifies to the internal corruption of the Comintern. Neither principles, nor honor, nor conscience have been left to the Kremlin's agents—only a supple spine. But people with supple spines have never yet led a revolution.

Stalin's friendship with Hitler will not endure forever, nor even for any length of time.<sup>169</sup> Before our manifesto reaches the masses the foreign policy of the Kremlin may undergo a new turn. In that case the character of the Comintern's propaganda would also change. If the Kremlin draws close to the democracies, the Comintern will once again dig out of its warehouses the Brown Book of National Socialist crimes. But this does not mean that its propaganda will assume a revolutionary character. In changing labels it will remain as servile as before. Revolutionary policy demands that above all the masses be told the truth. But the Comintern lies systematically. We turn to the toilers of the world and say: Do not believe the liars!

### **The Social Democrats and the Stalinists in the Colonies**

Parties tied up with the exploiters and interested in privileges are organically incapable of carrying on an honest policy with respect to the most exploited layers of the toilers and the oppressed peoples. The physiognomy of the Second and Third Internationals, therefore, is revealed with special clarity in their attitude towards the colonies.

Acting as an attorney for the slaveholders and a shareholder in the profits of slavery, the Second International has no sections of its own in the colonies, if we ignore casual groups of colonial functionaries, predominantly French freemasons, and "left" careerists in general who sit on the backs of the native population. Having renounced opportunely the unpatriotic notion of rousing the colonial population against the "democratic fatherland," the Second International has gained for itself the prerogative of supplying the bourgeoisie with ministers for the colonies, that is, slave-drivers (Sidney Webb, Marius Moutet, and others).<sup>170</sup>

In a brief period of time the Third International, which be-

gan with a courageous revolutionary appeal to all the oppressed peoples, has likewise prostituted itself completely on the colonial question. Not so very many years ago, when Moscow saw an opportunity ahead for an alliance with the imperialist democracies, the Comintern advanced the slogans of national emancipation not only for Abyssinia and Albania, but also for Austria. But for the colonies of Britain and France it modestly restricted itself to wishes for "reasonable" reforms. At that time the Comintern defended the Indians not against Great Britain, but against possible attacks by Japan, and Tunis against the fangs of Mussolini. Now the situation has changed abruptly. Complete independence for India, Egypt, Algiers! — Dimitrov will accept no less. Arabs and Negroes have found their best friend in Stalin once again, not counting, of course, Mussolini and Hitler. The German section of the Comintern, with that brazenness characteristic of this gang of parasites, defends Poland and Czechoslovakia against the plots of British imperialism. These people are capable of and ready for anything! With a new change in the Kremlin's orientation towards the Western democracies they will again respectfully solicit London and Paris to grant liberal reforms to their colonies.

In contrast to the Second International, the Comintern, thanks to its great tradition, exercises unquestionable influence in the colonies. But its social base has altered in accordance with its political evolution. At the present time, in countries of a colonial nature, the Comintern rests on the stratum which is the traditional base of the Second International in the metropolitan centers. The crumbs that drop from its super-profits have enabled imperialism to create the semblance of a native labor aristocracy in the colonial and semicolonial countries. Insignificant in comparison with its prototype in the metropolitan centers, it stands out, however, against the background of general poverty and maintains a tenacious grip on its privileges. The labor bureaucracy and aristocracy of the colonial and semicolonial countries, together with the state functionaries, provide especially servile recruits for the "friends" of the Kremlin. In Latin America one of the most repulsive representatives of this type is the Mexican lawyer, Lombardo Toledano, whose intimate services the Kremlin has rewarded by elevating him to the decorative post of chairman of the Latin American Trade Union Federation.<sup>171</sup>

By posing the questions of the class struggle point-blank, the war creates for these jugglers and weathervanes an increasingly difficult position, which genuine Bolsheviks must

utilize in order to sweep the Comintern out of the colonial countries forever.

### **Centrism and Anarchism**

By testing everything that exists and discarding everything rotten, war represents a mortal danger to the outlived Internationals. A considerable section of the Comintern bureaucracy, especially in case of reversals for the Soviet Union, will unfailingly turn to their own imperialist fatherland. The workers, on the contrary, will move more and more to the left. Under such conditions splits and crack-ups are inevitable. A number of symptoms also indicate the possibility that the "left" wing of the Second International will break away. Centrist groupings of different origin will merge, break up, create new "fronts," "camps," etc. Our epoch will disclose, however, that it finds centrism intolerable. The pathetic and tragic role played in the Spanish revolution by the POUM, the most serious and honest of the centrist organizations, will always remain in the memory of the advanced proletariat as a terrible warning.<sup>172</sup>

But history is fond of repetitions. The possibility is not excluded of new attempts to build an international organization on the pattern of the Two-and-a-half International, or, this time, the Three-and-a-quarter International. Such beginnings merit attention only as a reflection of far more profound processes taking place in the working masses. But it can be stated with certainty in advance that the centrist "fronts," "camps," and "Internationals," lacking any theoretical foundation, revolutionary tradition, or finished program, will have only an ephemeral character. We shall assist them by mercilessly criticizing their indecisiveness and halfheartedness.

This sketch of the bankruptcy of the old working class organizations would be incomplete if we failed to mention anarchism. Its decline constitutes the most incontestable phenomenon of our epoch. Even before the first imperialist war the French anarcho-syndicalists succeeded in becoming the worst opportunists and the direct servants of the bourgeoisie. In the last war most of the international anarchist leaders came out as patriots. In the heat of the civil war in Spain, the anarchists took posts as ministers of the bourgeoisie. The anarchist phrasemongers deny the state so long as it does not need them. In the hour of danger they, like the Social Democrats, become agents of the capitalist class.

The anarchists entered the present war without a program,

without a single idea, and with a banner dirtied by their betrayal of the Spanish proletariat. Today they are incapable of introducing anything into the ranks of the workers save patriotic demoralization flavored with humanitarian lamentations. In seeking a rapprochement with the anarchist workers who are really prepared to fight for the interests of their class, we will at the same time demand that they make a complete break with those leaders who in war as well as in revolution serve as the messenger boys of the bourgeoisie.

### The Trade Unions and the War

While the magnates of monopoly capitalism stand above the official organs of state power, controlling them from their heights, the opportunist trade union leaders scurry around the footstool of state power, creating support for it among the working masses. It is impossible to perform this filthy chore so long as workers' democracy within the trade unions is maintained. The regime in the unions, following the pattern of the regime of the bourgeois states, is becoming more and more authoritarian. In wartime the trade union bureaucracy definitively becomes the military police of the army's General Staff in the working class.

But no zeal will save it. War brings death and destruction to the present reformist trade unions. Those trade unionists who are in their prime are mobilized for the slaughter. They are replaced by boys, women, and old men, that is, those least capable of resistance. All countries will come out of the war so ruined that the standard of living for the workers will be thrown back a hundred years. Reformist unions are possible only under the regime of bourgeois democracy. But the first to be vanquished in the war will be the thoroughly rotten democracy. In its definitive downfall it will drag with it all the workers' organizations which served as its support. There will be no room for reformist unions. Capitalist reaction will destroy them ruthlessly. It is necessary to warn the workers of this at once and loud enough for everyone to hear.

A new epoch demands new methods. New methods demand new leaders. It is possible to save the trade unions in only one way: by transforming them into fighting organizations which will set as their goal victory over capitalist anarchy and imperialist banditry. The trade unions will play a paramount role in building socialist economy, but the preliminary condition for this is the overthrow of the capitalist class and

the nationalization of the means of production. The trade unions can escape burial beneath the ruins of war only if they take the road of socialist revolution.

### **The Fourth International**

The proletarian vanguard is the irreconcilable enemy of imperialist war. But it has no fear of this war. It accepts battle on the arena chosen by the class enemy. It enters this arena with its banners flying.

The Fourth International is the only organization that correctly predicted the general course of world events, that anticipated the inevitability of a new imperialist catastrophe, that exposed the pacifist frauds of the bourgeois democrats and the petty-bourgeois adventurers of the Stalinist school, that fought against the policy of class collaboration bearing the name of the "People's Fronts," that pilloried the treacherous role of the Comintern and the anarchists in Spain, that irreconcilably criticized the centrist illusions of the POUМ, that continued to steel its cadres unceasingly in the spirit of the revolutionary class struggle. Our policy in war is only a concentrated continuation of our policy in peace.

The Fourth International builds its program upon the granite theoretical foundations of Marxism. It rejects the contemptible eclecticism which now dominates the ranks of the official labor bureaucracy of the different camps, and which most frequently serves as a cloak for capitulation to bourgeois democracy. Our program is formulated in a series of documents accessible to everyone. The gist of it can be summed up in two words: *proletarian dictatorship*.

### **Our Program Founded on Bolshevism**

The Fourth International stands completely and wholeheartedly on the foundation of the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and its organizational methods. Let the petty-bourgeois radicals whine against centralism. A worker who has participated even once in a strike knows that no struggle is possible without discipline and a firm leadership. Our entire epoch is permeated with the spirit of centralism. Monopoly capitalism has brought economic centralization to its ultimate limits. State centralism in the guise of fascism assumed a totalitarian character. The democracies more and more attempt to emulate this pattern. The trade union bureaucracy is ruthlessly defending its powerful machine. The Second and Third

Internationals are brazenly utilizing the state apparatus in their struggle against the revolution. Under these conditions the elementary guarantee of success is the counterposing of revolutionary centralism to the centralism of reaction. It is indispensable to have an organization of the proletarian vanguard welded together by iron discipline, a genuine selection of tempered revolutionists ready for self-sacrifice and inspired by an unconquerable will to victory. To prepare the offensive systematically and painstakingly, and when the decisive hour strikes to throw the entire strength of the class on to the field of battle without faltering—only a centralized party which does not falter itself is capable of teaching this to the workers.

Shallow sceptics delight in citing the degeneration of Bolshevik centralism into bureaucratism. As though the entire course of history depended on the structure of a party! As a matter of fact, it is the fate of the party that depends on the course of the class struggle. But in any case, the Bolshevik Party was the only party that proved in action its capacity for accomplishing the proletarian revolution. It is precisely such a party that is needed now by the international proletariat. If the bourgeois regime comes out of the war with impunity, every revolutionary party will suffer degeneration. If the proletarian revolution conquers, those conditions that produce degeneration will disappear.

In the conditions of triumphant reaction, mass disillusionment, and mass fatigue, in a political atmosphere poisoned by the malignant decomposition of the traditional organizations of the working class, in the midst of heaped-up difficulties and obstacles, the development of the Fourth International of necessity proceeded slowly. Isolated and at first sight much broader and more promising attempts at unifying the left wing have been undertaken more than once by centrists who disdained our efforts. All these pretentious attempts, however, crumbled to dust even before the masses had a chance to memorize their names. Only the Fourth International, with stubbornness, persistence, and increasing success keeps on swimming against the stream.

### We Have Withstood the Test!

What characterizes a genuine revolutionary organization is above all the seriousness with which it works out and tests its political line at each new turn of events. Centralism is made fruitful by democracy. In the fire of the war our sections passionately discuss all questions of proletarian policy, testing

methods, and brushing off in passing those unstable elements who joined us only because of their opposition to the Second and Third Internationals. Separation from unreliable fellow-travelers is the inevitable overhead expense in the formation of a genuine revolutionary party.

The overwhelming majority of our comrades in different countries have withstood the first test of the war. This fact is of inestimable significance for the future of the Fourth International. Every rank-and-file member of our organization is not only entitled but duty bound to consider himself henceforth an officer in the revolutionary army that will be created in the flame of events. The entry of the masses into the revolutionary arena will reveal at once the insignificance of the opportunist, pacifist, and centrist programs. A single real revolutionist in a factory, a mine, a trade union, a regiment, a warship, is worth infinitely more than hundreds of petty-bourgeois pseudorevolutionists stewing in their own juice.

The politicians of the big bourgeoisie are far better at orienting themselves on the role of the Fourth International than our petty-bourgeois pedants. On the eve of breaking off diplomatic relations, the French ambassador Coulondre and Hitler, seeking during their final interview to frighten each other by the consequences of the war, were in joint agreement that the "only real victor" would be the Fourth International. Upon the launching of hostilities against Poland, the major press of France, Denmark, and other countries carried dispatches saying that in the workers' quarters in Berlin placards appeared on walls, "Down with Stalin, Long Live Trotsky!" This means: "Down with the Third International, Long Live the Fourth International!" When a demonstration was organized by the more resolute workers and students of Prague, on the anniversary of national independence, the "Protector" Baron Neurath issued an official declaration placing the responsibility for this demonstration upon the Czech "Trotskyites." The correspondence from Prague that appears in the newspaper edited by Benes, the former president of the Czechoslovak republic, confirms the fact that the Czech workers are becoming "Trotskyites."<sup>173</sup> As yet, all these are only symptoms. But they indicate unmistakably the trend of development. The new generation of workers whom the war will impel onto the road of revolution will take their place under our banner.

### **The Proletarian Revolution**

The basic conditions for the victory of the proletarian rev-

olution have been established by historical experience and clarified theoretically: (1) the bourgeois impasse and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; (2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving towards decisive changes in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; (3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; (4) a clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard—these are the four conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution. The main reason for the defeats of many revolutions is rooted in the fact that these four conditions rarely attain the necessary degree of maturity at one and the same time. In history, war has not infrequently been the mother of revolution precisely because it rocks superannuated regimes to their foundation, weakens the ruling class, and hastens the growth of revolutionary indignation among the oppressed classes.

Already the disorientation of the bourgeoisie, the alarm and dissatisfaction of the popular masses are intense, not only in the warring but also in the neutral countries; these phenomena will become intensified with every passing month of the war. In the last twenty years, it is true, the proletariat has suffered one defeat after another, each graver than the preceding one, became disillusioned with its old parties, and met the war undoubtedly in depressed spirits. One should not, however, overestimate the stability or durability of such moods. Events created them; events will dispel them.

War as well as revolution is made first and foremost by the younger generation. Millions of the youth, unable to find access to industry, began their lives as unemployed and therefore remained outside of political life. Today they are finding their place or they will find it on the morrow: the state organizes them into regiments and for this very reason opens the possibility for their revolutionary unification. Without a doubt the war will also shake off the apathy of the older generations.

### **The Problem of Leadership**

There remains the question of leadership. Will not the revolution be betrayed this time too, inasmuch as there are two Internationals in the service of imperialism while the genuine revolutionary elements constitute a tiny minority? In other words: shall we succeed in preparing in time a party capable of leading the proletarian revolution? In order to answer this

question correctly it is necessary to pose it correctly. Naturally, this or that uprising may end and surely will end in defeat owing to the immaturity of the revolutionary leadership. But it is not a question of a single uprising. It is a question of an entire revolutionary epoch.

The capitalist world has no way out, unless a prolonged death agony is so considered. It is necessary to prepare for long years, if not decades, of war, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars, and new uprisings. A young revolutionary party must base itself on this perspective. History will provide it with enough opportunities and possibilities to test itself, to accumulate experience, and to mature. The swifter the ranks of the vanguard are fused the more the epoch of bloody convulsions will be shortened, the less destruction will our planet suffer. But the great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat. The question of tempos and time intervals is of enormous importance; but it alters neither the general historical perspective nor the direction of our policy. The conclusion is a simple one: it is necessary to carry on the work of educating and organizing the proletarian vanguard with ten-fold energy. Precisely in this lies the task of the Fourth International.

The greatest error is committed by those who, in seeking to justify pessimistic conclusions, refer simply to the sad consequences of the last war. In the first place, the last war gave birth to the October Revolution upon whose lessons the labor movement of the whole world lives. In the second place, the conditions of the present war differ profoundly from the conditions of 1914. The economic position of the imperialist states, including the United States, is infinitely worse today, and the destructive power of war is infinitely greater than was the case a quarter of a century ago. There is therefore sufficient reason to expect this time a much more rapid and much more decisive reaction on the part of the workers and of the army.

The experience of the first war did not pass without deeply affecting the masses. The Second International drew its strength from the still almost untouched democratic and pacifist illusions of the masses. The workers seriously hoped that the war of 1914 would be the last war. The soldiers allowed themselves to be killed in order to spare their children a new slaughter. Only thanks to this hope could men have withstood war for more than four years. Today almost nothing remains of the democratic and pacifist illusions. The peoples are suffering the present war without any longer believing in it, without

expecting anything more from it than new chains. This applies also to the totalitarian states. The older generation of the workers who bore on their backs the burden of the first imperialist war and who have not forgotten its lessons are still far from eliminated from the arena. In the ears of the next to the oldest generation, which went to school during wartime, the false slogans of patriotism and pacifism are still ringing. The inestimable political experience of these strata who are now crushed by the weight of the war machine will reveal itself in full force when the war compels the toiling masses to come out openly against their governments.

### **Either Socialism or Slavery**

Our theses, *War and the Fourth International* (1934), state that: "the exposure of the thoroughly reactionary, putrified, and robber nature of modern capitalism, the destruction of democracy, reformism, and pacifism, the urgent and burning need of the proletariat to find a safe path away from the imminent disaster put the international revolution on the agenda with renewed force" (pp. 299-300).

Today it is no longer a question, as was the case in the nineteenth century, of simply assuring a more rapid and more healthy development of economic life: today it is a question of saving mankind from suicide. It is precisely the acuteness of the historical problem that completely cuts the ground from under the feet of the opportunist parties. The party of the revolution, on the contrary, finds a wellspring of inexhaustible power in the consciousness of the fact that it carries out inexorable historical necessity.

Moreover, it is impermissible to put on the same plane the present revolutionary vanguard with those isolated internationalists who raised their voices at the outbreak of the last war. Only the Russian party of the Bolsheviks represented a revolutionary force at that time. But even the latter, in its overwhelming majority, failed, except for a small emigre group around Lenin, to shed its national narrowness and to rise to the perspective of the world revolution.

The Fourth International in numbers and especially in preparation possesses infinite advantages over its predecessors at the beginning of the last war. The Fourth International is the direct heir of Bolshevism in its flower. The Fourth International

has absorbed the tradition of the October Revolution and has transmuted into theory the experience of the richest historical period between the two imperialist wars. It has faith in itself and its future.

War, let us once again recall, speeds up enormously the political development. Those great tasks which only yesterday seemed long years, if not decades away, can loom up directly before us in the next two or three years, and even sooner. Programs which are based on habitual peacetime conditions will inevitably remain dangling in midair. On the other hand, the Fourth International's program of transitional demands, which seemed so "unreal" to nearsighted politicians, will reveal its full significance in the process of the mobilization of the masses for the conquest of state power.

At the beginning of the new revolution, the opportunists will once again strive, just as they did a quarter of a century ago, to imbue the workers with the idea that it is impossible to build socialism on ruins and devastation. As if the proletariat is free to choose! It is necessary to build on those foundations which history provides. The Russian Revolution showed that workers' rule can raise even a very backward country out of deepest poverty. All the greater are the miracles open to the proletariat of the advanced countries. War destroys structures, railways, factories, mines; but it cannot destroy technology, science, skills. After creating its own state, correctly organizing its own ranks, drawing into the work qualified forces bequeathed by the bourgeois regime, and organizing production according to a unified plan, the proletariat will not only restore within a few years everything destroyed by war, but will also create conditions for the greatest blossoming of culture on the foundation of solidarity.

## WHAT TO DO

This manifesto is adopted by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International at a moment when, after overwhelming Holland and Belgium and crushing the initial resistance of the Allied troops, the German armies are rolling like a tide of fire towards Paris and the Channel. In Berlin they are already hastening to celebrate victory. In the camp of the Allies there is alarm, verging on panic. Here we have neither the possibility nor the need to engage in strategical speculations concerning the next stages of the war. Hitler's tremendous preponderance is in any case now placing its seal

upon the political physiognomy of the whole world.

"But isn't the working class obliged in the present conditions to aid the democracies in their struggle against German fascism?" That is how the question is put by broad petty-bourgeois circles for whom the proletariat always remains only an auxiliary tool of this or that faction of the bourgeoisie. We reject this policy with indignation. Naturally there exists a difference between the political regimes in bourgeois society just as there is a difference in comfort between various cars in a railway train. But when the whole train is plunging into an abyss, the distinction between decaying democracy and murderous fascism disappears in the face of the collapse of the entire capitalist system.

By his victories and bestialities, Hitler provokes naturally the sharp hatred of workers the world over. But between this legitimate hatred of workers and the helping of his weaker but not less reactionary enemies is an unbridgeable gulf. The victory of the imperialists of Great Britain and France would be not less frightful for the ultimate fate of mankind than that of Hitler and Mussolini. Bourgeois democracy cannot be saved. By helping their bourgeoisie against foreign fascism, the workers would only accelerate the victory of fascism in their own country. The task posed by history is not to support one part of the imperialist system against another but to make an end of the system as a whole.

### **Workers Must Learn Military Arts**

The militarization of the masses is further intensified every day. We reject the grotesque pretension of doing away with this militarization through empty pacifist protests. All the great questions will be decided in the next epoch arms in hand. The workers should not fear arms; on the contrary they should learn to use them. Revolutionists no more separate themselves from the people during war than in peace. A Bolshevik strives to become not only the best trade unionist but also the best soldier.

We do not wish to permit the bourgeoisie to drive untrained or half-trained soldiers at the last hour onto the battlefield. We demand that the state immediately provide the workers and the unemployed with the possibility of learning how to handle the rifle, the hand grenade, the machine gun, the cannon, the airplane, the submarine, and the other tools of war. Special military schools are necessary in close connec-

tion with the trade unions so that the workers can become skilled specialists of the military art, able to hold posts as commanders.

### **This Is Not Our War!**

At the same time we do not forget for a moment that this war is not our war. In contradistinction to the Second and Third Internationals, the Fourth International builds its policy not on the military fortunes of the capitalist states but on the transformation of the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the capitalists, on the overthrow of the ruling classes of all countries, on the world socialist revolution. The shifts in the battle lines at the front, the destruction of national capitals, the occupation of territories, the downfall of individual states, represent from this standpoint only tragic episodes on the road to the reconstruction of modern society.

Independently of the course of the war, we fulfill our basic task: we explain to the workers the irreconcilability between their interests and the interests of bloodthirsty capitalism; we mobilize the toilers against imperialism; we propagate the unity of the workers in all warring and neutral countries; we call for the fraternization of workers and soldiers within each country, and of soldiers with soldiers on the opposite side of the battle front; we mobilize the women and youth against the war; we carry on constant, persistent, tireless preparation for the revolution—in the factories, in the mills, in the villages, in the barracks, at the front, and in the fleet.

This is our program. Proletarians of the world, there is no other way out except to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!

**LETTER TO  
THE MEXICAN ATTORNEY GENERAL<sup>174</sup>**

**May 27, 1940**

Hon. Attorney General  
Hon. Chief of Police Nunez  
Hon. Secretary for Internal Affairs

During my interrogation by the representative of the Attorney General's office on May 24, I was asked, among other things, who I suspect was behind the attempt on my life. I answered: Joseph Stalin. I gave detailed explanations of the methods of organization of the GPU in foreign countries. This part of my testimony was completely left out of the transcript, undoubtedly on considerations of international etiquette or perhaps because of technicalities of the procedure. But since the authorities are above all interested in solving the crime, I feel that it is my duty to complete my short testimony on the crime here, because, in my opinion, this testimony is of definitive importance in the *general handling of the judicial investigation.*

It is first of all necessary to affirm that the attempted assassination could only be instigated by the Kremlin; by Stalin through the agency of the GPU abroad. During the last few years, Stalin has shot hundreds of real or supposed friends of mine. He actually exterminated my entire family, except me, my wife, and one of my grandchildren. Through his agents abroad he assassinated one of the old leaders of the GPU, Ignace Reiss, who had publicly declared himself a partisan of mine. This fact has been established by the French police and the Swiss judiciary. The same GPU agents who killed Reiss trailed my son in Paris. On the night of November 7, 1936, GPU agents broke into the Paris office of the Dutch Institute of Social History and stole part of my archives. Two of my secretaries, Erwin Wolf and Rudolf Klement, were assassinated by the GPU; the first in Spain, the second in Paris.<sup>175</sup> All the theatrical Moscow trials during 1936-37 had as their aim to get me into the hands of the GPU.

It would be possible to add considerably to this list of crimes.

All of them had, as their goal, my physical annihilation. Behind all these acts stands Stalin. The weapon in his hands is the Soviet secret police, called the GPU, with its sections in every foreign country. Only people interested in covering up the scent of the crimes can deny or even cast the slightest doubt on these well-known deeds.

In saying this I do not exclude the possibility of the participation of Hitler's Gestapo in the assassination attempt. Up to a certain point the GPU and the Gestapo are connected with each other; it is possible and probable that in special cases the same agents are at the disposal of both. Authoritative representatives of the German government have publicly indicated that they consider me a dangerous enemy. It is completely possible that these two police forces cooperated in the attempt against me. In any case, the directing role undoubtedly belongs to the GPU since my activities represent an incomparably greater danger to Stalin than to Hitler.

The organization of the GPU has very well-established traditions and methods outside the Soviet Union. Some very important people connected with the GPU (General Krivitsky, Ignace Reiss, and others) broke with it in recent years and made a series of extremely important disclosures. In characterizing some of the methods of the GPU, I base myself on these revelations, as well as on other sources available to me.

Before all else, it is essential to categorically establish that the activity of the GPU is closely intertwined with the activity of the Comintern, or more precisely with the apparatus, with its leading elements and most trusted supporters. The GPU needs a legal or semi-legal cover for its activity, and an environment favorable for the recruitment of its agents: this environment and protection are found in the so-called "Communist" parties.

The general scheme of the GPU organization abroad is the following: *in the Central Committee of each section of the Comintern there is placed a responsible director of the GPU for that country.* His status is known only to the secretary of the party and one or two trustworthy members. The other members of the Central Committee have but a slight inkling of the special status of this member. I do not have any data referring specifically to the functioning of this activity in Mexico. But there is no reason to doubt that, insofar as one refers to the organizational methods of the GPU, Mexico is not an exception.

As a member of the Central Committee, the country's GPU representative has the possibility of approaching with full

legality all members of the party, study their characters, entrust them with commissions, and little by little draw them into the work of espionage and terrorism, sometimes calling on their sense of party loyalty, but as often making use of bribery.

This whole mechanism was discovered in France and Switzerland in connection with the murder of Reiss and the later moves against my dead son and other persons. As for the United States, Krivitsky established that the sister of Browder, general secretary of the party, became a GPU agent through her brother's recommendation. This example proves the rule rather than an exception.

Everything leads one to believe that the main organizers of the attempt came from abroad. It is possible that they left Mexico on the eve of the attempt, after preparing the operation and assigning the roles. This is the standard mode of operation of the GPU, which, as a governmental agency, is extraordinarily interested in leaving no trace of itself behind.

Agents of the GPU upon coming to a foreign country for a specific task always work through the local head of the GPU, the above-mentioned member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; without this they could not orient themselves in the local situation and select the indispensable executors of their mission. The emissary from abroad and the local resident and their trustworthy aides work out the general plan of their undertaking, study the list of possible collaborators and draw them into the conspiracy step by step. In this technical work, the decisive role is played by the national resident and his general staff.

I do not have any information concerning the real role played by Sergeant Casas and the five police under him who were on guard outside my house. I know only that they are compromised. One cannot be sure that they were not in the conspiracy; the GPU has means as no other institution in the world of convincing, coercion, and bribery. They could have systematically insinuated to the police that I am an enemy of the Mexican people; promised them a career; and finally they could have offered a high price for their services. But foreign agents could not approach the Mexican police; local agents were necessary. For the Mexican agents engaged in the corruption, bribery, and preparation of the terrorist acts, one must look to the Central Committee of the Communist Party and to the periphery of this Central Committee.

The GPU is particularly concerned with the problem of preparing public opinion for a terrorist act, especially when a person well-known nationally and internationally is the victim.

This part of the job is always assigned to the Stalinist press, Stalinist speakers, and the so-called "friends of the Soviet Union." The judicial investigation, it seems to me, from this point of view cannot fail to examine the work of the newspapers *El Popular*, *La Voz de Mexico*, and some collaborators of *El Nacional*. I am not referring to criticism of my convictions, for such criticism, even though most severe, is the most elementary democratic right of everybody. But *La Voz de Mexico* and *El Popular* have never occupied themselves with such criticism. Their specialty, like that of some speakers, particularly Lombardo Toledano, during my three and a half years in Mexico, has been the propagation of slanders against me which are unbelievably crude and fantastic.

I recall that many times they have accused me of connections with all the reactionary circles in Mexico as well as abroad; in one speech Toledano declared that I am preparing a general strike against the Cardenas government; in *El Machete* and afterward in *La Voz de Mexico* they accuse me, every Sunday, of preparing a revolution together with General Cedillo and many other real or supposed counterrevolutionaries; they pictured me in secret sessions with a certain Dr. Atl; in collaboration with the German fascists in Mexico, etc., etc. In recent times *Futuro*, *El Popular*, as well as *La Voz de Mexico*, systematically repeat that I am in secret contact with the reactionary U.S. Congressman Dies and that I gave him certain information against Mexico. All these accusations, it is easy to see, make no sense, for they ascribe to me acts which are not only contrary to my convictions and my life's work, but also against my immediate interests, since I would have to lose all reason to commit disloyal acts against the Mexican government which has accorded me such generous hospitality.

I need but recall that through the press I have called upon my accusers repeatedly to bring their case before an impartial commission, appointed by the government or the (government) Mexican Revolutionary Party in order to publicly examine the accusations made against me. Toledano and the Communist Party chiefs have always been careful enough not to accept my proposition.

One cannot help but ask: Why do Mr. Lombardo Toledano and the leaders of the Mexican Communist Party feel themselves obliged to systematically spread slanders about me, with the ostensible aim of discrediting me in the eyes of the authorities and Mexican public opinion? These gentlemen cannot have anything against me personally, since I have never had either personal relations or personal conflicts with

them. They labor with such eagerness and shamelessness only because they have been instructed to do so. Who can have done this? Obviously the man in the Kremlin, Joseph Stalin.

With this I do not wish to say that Toledano and the Communist Party chiefs took direct part in preparing the attempt against me. The GPU has a strict division of labor. Known persons are assigned the task of propagating the slanders against me. Lesser known but more serious agents are assigned the task of assassination. Nevertheless Mr. Toledano is no youngster. He knows perfectly well the methods of the GPU, particularly the systematic persecution to which the members of my family, my friends and I have been and are exposed throughout the world. It is no secret to Toledano that the GPU is out to annihilate me physically. I am therefore within my rights in saying that, in occupying himself systematically with the poisonous campaign against me, *Mr. Toledano took part in the moral preparation of the terrorist act.* Consequently Toledano as a witness should be of immense interest to the investigation.

It cannot be doubted in the least that the former and present chiefs of the Communist Party know who is the local director of the GPU. Permit me also to assume that David Alfaro Siqueiros, who took part in the civil war in Spain as an active Stalinist, may also know who are the most important and active GPU members, Spanish, Mexican, and of other nationalities, who are arriving at different times in Mexico, especially via Paris. The questioning of the previous and the present general secretary of the Communist Party, and also of Siqueiros, would help very much to throw light on the instigators of the assassination attempt and together with them discover their accomplices.

Leon Trotsky

## ON THE MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL<sup>176</sup>

May 28, 1940

Dear Comrades,

You have now, I hope, the full text of the manifesto in English. I was very sorry about the delay occasioned one time by a bad state of health, then by the length of the document and finally by the attempt. If you have already approved the document, as I hope (with some changes possibly), it is necessary in my opinion to undertake immediately a serious international action on the basis of the manifesto. My general proposals are as follows:

1. Publish the manifesto in English as a special issue of the *Socialist Appeal* or of the *Fourth International* in an enlarged edition.

2. Apart from the general channels of circulation, I propose to send copies to all the labor publications, trade union offices, liberal and radical papers and magazines, etc., with a special letter which should in a very friendly manner invite the respective gentlemen and ladies to take a position toward the document in view of the importance of the matters treated therein. The letters should be signed by the general secretary of the party.

3. Simultaneously the document should be translated in New York into German, French, and if possible into Spanish, and published in foreign languages at least in the form of a bulletin because we cannot hope that it would be published in Europe during the next period.

4. The document should be seriously studied and discussed in party branches.

The length of the document is determined by the necessity to present again our whole program in connection with the war. The party cannot preserve its tradition without periodic repetitions of the general ideas of our program.

I hope to receive the text of the translation before its pub-

lication because secondary misunderstandings are inevitable in a text of such length.

With warmest greetings,  
L. Trotsky

P.S.—Comrade Hank came just in time. Not necessary to say how useful was his presence here this week.

The resignation of Burnham is an excellent confirmation of our analysis and prognosis concerning the ex-Minority. We don't believe that it is the last separation.

W. R. [Leon Trotsky]



Left: Trotsky seated on steps with (l. to r.) Seva Volkov, his grandson; Marguerite Thevenet Rosmer; Natalia Sedova; and Alfred Rosmer. Right: Leaning over the desk in his study.

## ACCUSERS OR ACCUSED?<sup>177</sup>

May 28, 1940

The newspaper *El Popular*, and now *Futuro* magazine, have addressed themselves to the District Attorney of the Federal District, presenting a complaint that charges me with the crime of "defamation." For my part, it is clear that I am completely willing to let them have their day in court and to personally appear to answer the charges made. Furthermore, for three and a half years I have invited these publications at various times to submit their accusations against me to an impartial commission, named either by the government itself or by the PRM, and I have never had my proposal accepted by my "accusers."

The present proposal by the editors of *El Popular* and *Futuro* to place the case before competent authorities for their examination is a long-delayed acceptance of my earlier proposal. I cannot hope for anything better than the intervention of the Mexican judiciary in this case.

Just as the organizers of the May 24 attack, and their "friends," have spread the rumor that I committed an "assault upon myself," so the people who slandered me for a number of years to help Stalin and at the orders of the GPU are today intent on accusing me of having defamed them.

I can assure the public in advance that the editors of *El Popular* and *Futuro* will find me well-prepared and that the accusers will be transformed into the accused.

## REPRESENTATIVE TOLEDANO HURLS A NEW SLANDER<sup>178</sup>

June 2, 1940

Yes, I have publicly called the theory of "self-assault" stupid and fantastic. A brother of Mr. Lombardo Toledano states, in respect to this, that I have insulted the police, and in particular General Nunez, from whom I can say that in the past I have encountered only help and attention.

The statement of this representative is a crude falsification. Neither the police in general, nor their chief in particular, have raised the hypothesis of "self-assault" in any context. Such a theory, or more precisely, a general assertion of this type, was expressed by the publications whose mission is to defend, cover up for, and justify the crimes of Stalin and his GPU. Some police officials have felt it their duty to *investigate* this assertion. But the police's duty to investigate *all* the variants does not deprive me of the right to characterize the assertion of Lombardo Toledano and his friends, who compete with the Communist Party in their slander, as absurd and fantastic. . . . Or perhaps the honorable representative requires that I myself should consider the hypothesis of my having mobilized twenty armed men, captured the police, kidnaped one of the members of my guard, set fire to my own house, attacked myself and my wife, and wounded my grandson—and all this for purposes that no one can explain in any coherent way—that I should consider this hypothesis to be the result of serious thought and proof of the fine juridical thinking of Mr. Toledano and his friends.

During my press conference, I stated in response to a direct question that although I could not agree with the manner in which Col. Salazar proceeded in regard to my collaborators,<sup>179</sup> I had, nevertheless, not the slightest doubt that the police would be directed in their investigation solely by the desire to establish the truth.

The objective of the new insinuation is twofold: (1) to stir up police hostility against the victim of the aggression and thus to aid the aggressors; (2) to cause, if possible, my expulsion from Mexico; that is to say, my transfer into the hands of the GPU.

Permit me to add one thing: if one followed back the trail of the different rumors and false denunciations placed in circulation by mysterious and semimysterious sources, they would lead us much nearer to the high command of the aggressors.

## STALIN SEEKS MY DEATH<sup>180</sup>

June 8, 1940

The attack came at dawn, about 4 a. m. I was fast asleep, having taken a sleeping drug after a hard day's work. Awakened by the rattle of gunfire but feeling very hazy, I first imagined that a national holiday was being celebrated with fireworks outside our walls. But the explosions were too close, right here within the room, next to me and overhead. The odor of gunpowder became more acrid, more penetrating. Clearly, what we had always expected was now happening: we were under attack. Where were the police stationed outside the walls? Where the guards inside? Trussed up? Kidnaped? Killed? My wife had already jumped from her bed. The shooting continued incessantly. My wife later told me that she helped me to the floor, pushing me into the space between the bed and the wall. This was quite true. She had remained hovering over me, beside the wall, as if to shield me with her body. But by means of whispers and gestures I convinced her to lie flat on the floor. The shots came from all sides, it was difficult to tell just from where. At a certain time my wife, as she later told me, was able clearly to distinguish spurts of fire from a gun: consequently, the shooting was being done right here in the room although we could not see anybody. My impression is that altogether some two hundred shots were fired, of which about one hundred fell right here, near us. Splinters of glass from windowpanes and chips from walls flew in all directions. A little later I felt that my right leg had been slightly wounded in two places.

As the shooting died down we heard our grandson in the neighboring room cry out: "Grandfather!" The voice of the child in the darkness under the gunfire remains the most tragic recollection of that night. The boy—after the first shot had cut his bed diagonally as evidenced by marks left on the door and wall—threw himself under the bed. One of the assailants, apparently in a panic, fired into the bed, the bullet passed through the

mattress, struck our grandson in the big toe and imbedded itself in the floor. The assailants threw two incendiary bombs and left our grandson's bedroom. Crying, "Grandfather!" he ran after them into the patio, leaving a trail of blood behind him and, under gunfire, rushed into the room of one of the guards.

At the outcry of our grandson, my wife made her way into his already empty room. Inside, the floor, the door and a small cabinet were burning. "They have kidnaped Seva," I said to her. This was the most painful moment of all. Shots continued to ring out but already away from our bedroom somewhere in the patio or immediately outside the walls. The terrorists were apparently covering their retreat. My wife hastened to smother the incendiary flames with a rug. For a week afterward she had to treat her burns.

Two members of our guard appeared, Otto and Charles, who had been cut off from us during the attack by machine gun fire. They confirmed the fact that the assailants had apparently withdrawn since no one was to be seen in the patio. The guard on night duty, Robert Sheldon Harte, had disappeared. Both automobiles were gone. Why the silence from the police stationed outside? They had been bound by the assailants who shouted: "Viva Almazan!"<sup>181</sup> That was the story told by the tied-up policemen.

My wife and I were convinced on the next day that the assailants had fired only through the windows and doors and that that no one had entered our bedroom. However, an analysis of the trajectory of the bullets proves irrefutably that eight shots which struck the wall at the head of the two beds and which left holes in four places in both mattresses, as well as traces in the floor underneath the beds could have been fired only inside the bedroom itself. Empty cartridges found on the floor and the lining of a blanket singed in two places testify to the same thing.

When did the terrorist enter our bedroom? Was it during the first part of their operation before we had yet awakened? Or was it, on the contrary, during the last moments when we were lying on the floor? I incline toward the latter supposition. Having fired through the doors and windows several scores of bullets aimed at the beds and not hearing any outcries or groans, the assailants had every reason to conclude that they had accomplished their work successfully. One of them might have at the last moment entered the room for a final check. Possibly the bed clothes and pillows still retained the form of

human bodies. At four o'clock in the morning the room was in darkness. My wife and I remained motionless and silent on the floor. Before leaving our bedroom, the terrorist who came in to verify that the task had already been accomplished might have fired a few shots into our beds "to clear his conscience."

It would be too irksome to analyze here in detail the various legends which were the product of misunderstanding or malice and which have served directly or indirectly as the basis for the theory of "self-assault." The press carried reports alleging that my wife and I were not in our bedroom on the night of the assault; *El Popular* (organ of the Stalinist ally, Toledano) discoursed concerning my "contradictions": according to one version, I reportedly crawled into a corner of the bedroom; according to another version, I dropped to the floor, etc. There is not a word of truth in all this. All rooms in our house are occupied at night by designated individuals, with the exception of the library, the dining room, and my workroom. But the assailants passed through precisely these rooms and did not find us there. We slept where we always did: in our bedroom. As was already stated, I dropped to the floor in the corner of the room; presently, I was joined by my wife.

How did we survive? Obviously, thanks to a fortunate accident. The beds were under a cross-fire. Perhaps the assailants were afraid to hit each other and instinctively fired either higher or lower than they should have. But that is only a psychological conjecture. It is also possible that my wife and I came to the aid of the happy accident by not losing our heads, not flying around the room, not crying out or calling for help when it was hopeless to do so, not shooting when it was senseless, but remained quietly on the floor pretending to be dead.

To the uninitiated it may seem incomprehensible that Stalin's clique should have first exiled me and then should attempt to kill me abroad. Wouldn't it have been simpler to have shot me in Moscow like so many others?

The explanation is this: In 1928 when I was expelled from the party and exiled to Central Asia it was still impossible even to talk not only about shooting but arrest. The generation together with whom I went through the October Revolution and the civil war was then still alive. The Political Bureau felt itself besieged from all sides.

From Central Asia I was able to maintain direct contact with

the Opposition. In these conditions Stalin, after vacillating for one year, decided to resort to exile abroad as the lesser evil. He reasoned that Trotsky, isolated from the USSR, deprived of an apparatus and of material resources, would be powerless to undertake anything. Moreover, Stalin calculated that after he had succeeded in completely blackening me in the eyes of the country, he could without difficulty obtain from the friendly Turkish government my return to Moscow for the final reckoning. Events have shown, however, that it is possible to participate in political life without possessing either an apparatus or material resources. With the aid of young friends I laid the foundations of the Fourth International, which is forging ahead slowly but stubbornly. The Moscow trials of 1936-37 were staged in order to obtain my deportation from Norway, i.e., actually to hand me over into the hands of the GPU. But this did not succeed. I arrived in Mexico. I am informed that Stalin has several times admitted that my exile abroad was a "major mistake." No other way remained of rectifying the mistake except through a terrorist act.

In recent years the GPU has destroyed many hundreds of my friends, including members of my family in the USSR. In Spain they killed my former secretary Erwin Wolf and a number of my political co-thinkers; in Paris they killed my son Leon Sedov whom Stalin's professional murderers hunted for two years.<sup>182</sup> In Lausanne the GPU killed Ignace Reiss, who had left the GPU and joined the Fourth International. In Paris, Stalin's agents murdered another of my former secretaries, Rudolf Klement, whose body was found in the Seine with the head, hands, and legs cut off. This list could be continued interminably.

In Mexico there was an obvious attempt to assassinate me by an individual who appeared in my house with fake recommendations from a prominent political figure. It was after this incident, which alarmed my friends, that more serious measures of defense were undertaken: day and night guard, alarm system, etc.

After the active and truly murderous participation of the GPU in the Spanish events, I received many letters from my friends, chiefly in New York and Paris, concerning agents of the GPU who were being sent into Mexico from France and the United States. The names and photographs of some of these gentlemen were transmitted by me in time to the Mexican police. The outbreak of the war aggravated the situation still further because of my irreconcilable struggle against the foreign and domestic

policy of the Kremlin. My declarations and articles in the world press—on the dismemberment of Poland, the invasion of Finland, the weakness of the Red Army beheaded by Stalin, etc.—were reproduced in all countries of the world in tens of millions of copies. Dissatisfaction inside the USSR is growing. In the capacity of a former revolutionist Stalin remembers that the Third International was incomparably weaker at the beginning of the last war than the Fourth International is today. The course of the war may provide a mighty impulsion to the development of the Fourth International, also within the USSR itself. That is why Stalin could not have failed to issue orders to his agents—to finish me as quickly as possible.

Facts known to everyone and general political considerations thus indubitably demonstrate that the organization of the attempt of May 24 could emanate only from the GPU. There is, however, no lack of supplementary evidence.

1. A few weeks before the attempt the Mexican press was filled with rumors of a concentration of GPU agents in Mexico. A great many things in these reports were false. But the substance of these rumors was correct.

2. Very noteworthy is the exceptionally high technique of the assault. The assassination failed because of one of those accidents which enter as an integral element into every war. But the preparation and execution of the assault are astonishing in their scope, planning, and efficiency. The terrorists are familiar with the layout of the house and its internal life; they are equipped with police uniforms, weapons, electric saw, rope ladders, etc. They succeed completely in tying up the police stationed outside, they paralyze the guards inside by a correct strategy of fire, they penetrate into the intended victim's room, fire with impunity for three to five minutes, throw incendiary bombs, and leave the arena of attack without a trace. Such an undertaking is beyond the resources of a private group. There is to be observed here tradition, training, great resources, and a wide selection of executors. This is the work of the GPU.

3. Strictly in accordance with the whole system of the GPU is the solicitude for switching the investigation to a false track which was included in the very plan of the assault. While tying up the police, the assailants shouted: "Viva Almazan!" These artificial and fraudulent shouts at night before five policemen, three of whom were asleep, pursued simultaneously two objectives: to distract, if only for a few days or hours, the attention of the coming investigation away from the GPU and its agency in Mexico; and to compromise the followers of one of

the presidential candidates. To kill one opponent while casting the shadow of suspicion on another—that is the classic method of the GPU, more exactly of its inspirer, Stalin.

4. The attackers brought along several incendiary bombs, two of which were thrown into my grandson's room. The participants in the assault thus had in view not only murder but also arson. Their only goal could have been the destruction of my archives. This is of interest only to Stalin, inasmuch as my archives are of exceptional value to me in the struggle against the Moscow oligarchy. With the aid of my archives I was able in particular, to expose the Moscow juridical frame-ups. On November 7, 1936, the GPU, incurring great risks, had already stolen part of my archives in Paris. It did not forget about them in the night of May 24. The incendiary bombs are thus something like Stalin's visiting card.

5. Extremely characteristic of the crimes of the GPU is the division of labor between the secret killers and the legal "friends": while the assault was being prepared, along with the underground work of conspiracy, there was conducted an open slanderous campaign aimed to discredit the intended victim. The same division of labor continues after the perpetration of the crime: the terrorists go into hiding while their attorneys, out in the open, attempt to direct the attention of the police to a false trail.

6. Finally, it is impossible not to call attention to the reactions of the world press: newspapers of all tendencies proceed openly or tacitly from the fact that the assault is the handiwork of the GPU; only the newspapers subsidized by the Kremlin and fulfilling its orders defend an opposite version. This is an irrefutable piece of political evidence!

On the morning of May 24 the leading representatives of the police asked my collaboration in solving the crime. Colonel Salazar and tens of agents called on me for various information in the most friendly way. My family, my co-workers, and I did everything in our power.

On May 25 or May 26, two agents of the secret police told me that the investigation was on the correct road and that now it had been at all events already "proven that it is a question of attempted assassination." I was astounded. After all, was it still necessary to prove this? I asked myself precisely *against whom* did the police have to prove that the assault was an assault? In any case, up to the evening of May 27 the investigation, so far as I could judge, was directed against the unknown assailants and not against the victims of the assault.

On May 28 I transmitted to Colonel Salazar some evidence, which as the *third* stage of the investigation demonstrated, was very important. But on the agenda at the time was the *second* stage of which I did not have any suspicion, namely, an investigation directed against myself and my collaborators.

During the day of May 28 a complete and abrupt turn in the orientation of the investigation and the attitude of the police toward my household was prepared and accomplished. We were immediately surrounded by an atmosphere of hostility. What was the matter? we wondered. This turn could not have occurred of itself. There must have been concrete and imperative reasons. Not even a semblance of fact or factual data which might have justified such a turn of the investigation has been revealed nor could have been revealed. I can find no explanation for the turn other than the monstrous pressure exerted by the GPU apparatus, basing itself on all its "friends." Behind the scenes a veritable *coup d'etat* occurred. Who directed it?

Here is a fact which might seem insignificant but which merits the most serious attention: *El Popular* and *El Nacional* carried on the morning of May 27 an identical story, "Mr. Trotsky Contradicts Himself," which ascribed to me contradictions on the question of my whereabouts on the night of May 24 and during the very time of the attack. The story, which went absolutely unnoticed by me in those frenzied hours, was a crude invention from beginning to end. Who supplied the "left" newspapers with the story? This is a question of capital importance! The story referred as its source to anonymous "observers." Who are these "observers?" Just what did they observe and where? It is quite self-evident that *this story had as its aim to prepare and justify in the eyes of government circles*, where these papers are widely read, *the hostile turn of the investigation against me and my collaborators*. An investigation of this peculiar episode would unquestionably shed light on many things.

Two servants in our household were questioned for the first time on May 28, i.e., on the day when we were already stifling in an atmosphere of hostility and when the minds of the police were already directed toward the theory of self-assault. On the next day, the 29th, both women were again called and taken at 4 p.m. to Via Madera (Guadalupe) where they were questioned until 11 p.m. inside the building and from 11 p.m. to 2 a.m. in the dark yard, in an automobile. No records were kept. They were brought home at about 3 a.m. On May 30

a police agent appeared in the kitchen with a ready-made protocol and both women signed without reading it. The agent left the kitchen a minute or so after entering it. When both women found out from the newspapers that my secretaries Charles and Otto had been arrested on the basis of their testimony, they both declared that they had said absolutely nothing that could have justified arrest.

Why were these two members of the guard arrested and not the others? Because Otto and Charles served as liaison agents with the authorities and with our few friends in the city. Preparing the blow against me, the investigating magistrates decided first of all to isolate our house completely. On the same day a Mexican, S., and a Czech, B., our young friends who had visited us to express their sympathy, were placed under arrest. The aim of the arrests was obviously the same: to cut off our connections with the outside world. The arrested members of the guard were confronted with a demand that they confess in "a quarter of an hour" that it was I who had ordered them to carry out the "self-assault." I am not at all inclined to exaggerate the importance of these episodes or to invest them with a tragic meaning. They interest me solely from the standpoint of the possibility of exposing those behind-the-scenes forces that were able in the course of twenty-four hours to bring about an almost magical turn in the direction of the investigation. These forces continue even today to exert an influence on the course of the investigation.

On Thursday, May 30, when B. was questioned in Via Madera, all the police agents proceeded from the theory of self-assault, and conducted themselves insolently with me, my wife, and my collaborators. During his incarceration for four days, S. had the opportunity to listen to quite a few conversations between the police agents. His conclusion is as follows: "The hand of Lombardo Toledano, Bassols, and others penetrates deeply into police activity and this with considerable success. The idea of self-assault . . . was artificially inspired from this source."

The pressure of interested circles must have assumed truly irresistible proportions in order to compel the representatives of the investigation to take a serious attitude toward the absurd idea of self-assault.

What aim could I pursue in venturing on so monstrous, repugnant, and dangerous an enterprise? No one has explained it to this day. It is hinted that I wanted to blacken Stalin and his GPU. But would another assault add anything at all to the reputation of a man who has destroyed an entire old generation

of the Bolshevik Party? It is said that I want to prove the existence of the "Fifth Column." Why? What for? Besides, GPU agents are quite sufficient for the perpetration of an assault, there is no need of the mysterious Fifth Column. It is said that I wanted to create difficulties for the Mexican government. What possible motives could I have for creating difficulties for the only government that has been hospitable to me? It is said that I wanted to provoke a war between the United States and Mexico. But this explanation completely belongs to the domain of delirium. In order to provoke such a war it would have been in any case much more expedient to have organized an assault on an American ambassador or on oil magnates and not a revolutionist-Bolshevik, alien and hateful to imperialist circles.

When Stalin organizes an attempt to assassinate me, the meaning of his actions is clear: he wants to destroy his enemy number one. Stalin incurs no risks thereby; he acts at long distance. On the contrary, by organizing "self-assault" I have to assume the responsibility for such an enterprise myself; I risk my own fate, the fate of my family, my political reputation, and the reputation of the movement which I serve. What do I stand to gain from it?

But even if one were to allow the impossible, namely, that after renouncing the cause of my whole life, and trampling underfoot common sense and my own vital interests, I did decide to organize "self-assault" for the sake of some unknown goal, then there still remains the following question: Where and how did I obtain twenty executors? How did I supply them with police uniforms? How did I arm them? How did I equip them with all the necessary things? etc., etc. In other words, just how did a man, who lives almost completely isolated from the outside world, contrive to fulfill an enterprise conceivable only for a powerful apparatus? Let me confess that I feel awkward in subjecting to criticism an idea that is beneath all criticism.

The GPU mobilized its agents with great skill in order to kill me. The attempt failed because of an accident. The friends of the GPU are compromised. They are now compelled to do everything in their power in order to fix upon me the responsibility for the unsuccessful attempt of their own chieftain. In accomplishing this they have not a wide choice of means. They are compelled to operate with the crudest methods, and to guide themselves by Hitler's aphorism: the bigger the lie the more readily it will be believed.

Extremely valuable conclusions concerning the behind-the-

scenes work of the GPU can be drawn from a study of the conduct of a certain section of the Mexican press in the days following the attempted assassination. Let us leave aside *La Voz de Mexico*, the official Stalinist publication with its crude contradictions, senseless accusations, and cynical slander. Let us likewise leave aside the organs of the right which on the one hand are guided by a chase after sensation, and on the other try to utilize the assault for their own purposes, i.e., against the "lefts" in general. Politically I am further removed from such newspapers as *Universal* or *Excelsior* than Lombardo Toledano and his ilk. I use the above-named papers for self-defense just as I would use a bus for transportation.

Furthermore the maneuvers of the right-wing papers are only a reflection of the politics of the country and, in essence, they have a detached attitude on the question of the assault and of the GPU. For our purposes it is much more important to analyze the conduct of *El Popular* and, in part, *El Nacional*. The active policy in this case is conducted by *El Popular*. As regards *El Nacional*, the latter only adapts itself to its interested colleague.

Despite the fact reported by newspapers that Toledano left the capital two or three days prior to the attack, *El Popular* had at the critical moment very clear and precise directives. The assault did not catch the paper off-guard. The editors did not on this occasion try to turn the attack into a joke, nor did it refer to my "persecution mania," etc. On the contrary, the paper immediately assumed a serious and an alarmed tone. The issue of May 25 across the front page advanced the slogan "The attempt against Trotsky is an attempt against Mexico." The leading editorial under the same heading demanded the most rigid investigation and an exemplary punishment of the criminals *no matter what their political tendency and what foreign power they are connected with*. By its phraseology the article seeks to create the impression of highest impartiality and patriotic indignation. The immediate aim is to dig something like an abyss between the editors of *El Popular* and the terrorists, who might turn up in the hands of the police, if not today then on the morrow. This measure of precaution is all the more necessary the more zealously *El Popular* had conducted in the preceding period a campaign of slander against me.

However, under the literary shell of impartiality there lurk cautious insinuations which are destined in the next few days to receive a further elaboration. It is remarked in passing, in a single phrase, that there are "mysterious and suspicious

aspects to the assault." That day these words passed unnoticed. But now it is completely clear that the author of the article had reserved for himself beforehand the possibility of advancing the theory of "self-assault" *in the event of failure on the part of the judicial inquiry*. The second insinuation is no less significant: the article predicts that the "enemies of Mexico" will ascribe the attempt to Stalin and Moscow. The enemies of Mexico are here identified with the enemies of Stalin. The solemn call to search out the criminals, no matter with what power they are connected, acquires a very limited interpretation.

With all its zigzags and equivocations the article is carefully thought out. The contradictions of the article flow from the contradictoriness and indefiniteness of the situation itself. The outcome of the investigation was as yet unknown. In the event of success of the investigation it was necessary to withdraw as far away as possible. In the event of its failure it was necessary to preserve freedom of action along the lines of old slander and persecution. It was necessary at the same time to distract, so far as possible, attention away from the GPU, without however tying one's own hands completely. Re-reading the article today, one can clearly see the white stitching stick out on all sides.

In the issue of May 26 the same line is continued in the main. *El Popular* demands of the authorities energetic punishment of the guilty ones. The danger that the participants of the attempt might immediately fall into the hands of the police is still very great; hence the harsh voice of impartiality.

The issue of May 27 already carries the cynical story "Mr. Trotsky Contradicts Himself." This is the first attempt to develop the insinuation concerning the "suspicious aspects" of the assault. The story asserts that I gave conflicting testimony concerning my whereabouts during the attack. The incongruity of this insinuation hits one between the eyes. If a man living in emigre solitude proved capable of mobilizing twenty conspirators and obtaining for them police uniforms and machine guns, then he ought to be capable of preparing an answer as to his whereabouts at the time of the assault. But let us not be captious about the technique of falsification. One thing is clear: *El Popular* is preparing the ground for the theory of "self-assault."

The investigation meanwhile runs into great difficulties: the GPU is capable of foreseeing a great deal and of covering up its tracks well. Since the time of the assault three days have

elapsed. The danger of the arrest of the chief participants in the assault could be considered as eliminated, inasmuch as during this time they had ample opportunity to cross the border with passports prepared in advance. In correspondence with this, *El Popular* takes a bolder tone on May 27. The matter is not limited to the above-cited story in the news section. The leading article on that day flatly states that the "attempt with every passing day awakens great doubts and seems more and more suspicious and less and less logical"; further on, the word "camouflage" is mentioned. The article ascribes the attempt to American imperialists who seek to intervene in Mexico and who base themselves apparently on my collaboration. Why the imperialists should have selected as the object of the assault none other than myself remains unknown. And just how the assault against a Russian Bolshevik in Mexico could justify intervention by the United States remains even less comprehensible. Instead of analysis and proof, a selection of noisy phrases.

It remains to recall that prior to the conclusion of the Stalin-Hitler bloc, *El Popular* used to depict me invariably with a swastika. I was suddenly transformed into an agent of the United States only after the invasion of Finland by the Red Army. *El Popular* tries to dispose of me with the same freedom as Stalin uses in issuing orders to his agents. In their verbal agitation and behind-the-scenes maneuvers, Toledano and his allies undoubtedly went much further than they did in their own press. As the events of the next few days show, they engaged in especially intense work among the police.

On May 28 the investigating authorities were already completely swung over to the idea of "self-assault." Two of my secretaries, Otto and Charles, and two individuals connected with my household, B. and S., were placed under arrest. Having gained this victory, *El Popular* carefully retreats to the shadows: in the issue of May 28 it once again assumes an objective position. It is clear why the directors of the paper were cautious of engaging themselves irrevocably. They knew more than they told, they placed much less confidence in the version of self-assault than did the police sidetracked to a false trail by them. They were afraid that this version might at any moment be blown up. That is why, after transferring the responsibility to the police, *El Popular* on May 28 once again assumes the pose of an alarmed patriotic observer.

In the issue of May 29, *El Popular* published without comment the declaration of the Communist Party which demanded,

not the punishment of the terrorists, but the deportation of Trotsky from Mexico. That day my house and all its inhabitants were cut off from the outside world by a ring of fantastic suspicions. It is noteworthy that Toledano leaves, on this occasion as well, the most candid slogans of the Kremlin to be spoken by the leaders of the Communist Party, who have nothing to lose. He seeks to preserve a bridge for his own retreat.

On June 1 the press carried my letter to the prosecutor of the republic, openly naming Lombardo Toledano as a moral accomplice in the preparation of the assault. After this Toledano steps half way out of the shadows. "CTM (Mexican Confederation of Workers) accuses Trotsky of serving as an instrument in the (Yankee) war of nerves (against Mexico)," proclaimed *El Popular* on June 6. What does this mean? It is empty rhetoric without meaning and without any basis in fact! In the name of the CTM Toledano submits to the authorities a document in which the assault is woven into a web of an extensive and extremely indefinite international intrigue. Besides myself, suspected of intrigue are a great many factors, institutions, and individuals. A great many, but not the GPU. Only "the enemies of Mexico," as we already know, are capable of suspecting the GPU. Thus in all his maneuvers Toledano remains friend number one of the GPU.

In contradistinction to all other newspapers of the capital, *El Nacional* did not even mention the attempt in the first section of its issue for May 25. In the second section it carried a dispatch under the heading "Trotsky Subjected to a Theatrical (!) Attempt in His Home." On what basis the paper reached its appraisal remained unknown. I am, unfortunately, compelled to assert that in several prior instances the paper attempted to ascribe to me reprehensible actions without a shadow of justification.

It is worthy of the most diligent attention that on the same day on which *El Nacional* called the attempt "theatrical," *El Popular* wrote, "The attempt against Trotsky is an attempt against Mexico." At first sight it might appear as if *El Nacional* displayed a much more hostile attitude toward the victim of the assault than did *El Popular*. As a matter of fact that is not the case. By its conduct *El Nacional* merely revealed that it is much further removed than *El Popular* from the sources of Stalinism, and consequently the source of the assault. *El Nacional* has editors who strive to do all they can to please the Stalinists. They know that the simplest way is

to utter some sort of suspicion towards me. When the editors received news of the assault against my home, one of the editors placed in circulation the first ironic formula that came into his head. This very fact shows that the editors of *El Nacional*, in contrast to the editors of *El Popular*, know not of what they write.

In the following days there is to be observed, however, a drawing together of the lines of these two publications. *El Nacional*, gathering from the conduct of *El Popular* that it blurted out very incautiously its hypothesis of a "theatrical" attempt, beat a hasty retreat and assumed a more guarded position. For its part, *El Popular*, becoming convinced that none of the participants of the attempt had been arrested, began to pass over to the position of a "theatrical" attempt. The story of May 27, "Mr. Trotsky Contradicts Himself," was also carried by *El Nacional*.

On the basis of an analysis of the articles in *El Popular* and a comparison between them and the articles in *El Nacional* it is thus possible to state with certainty that Toledano knew in advance of the preparations for the attempt, even if in the most general way. The GPU simultaneously prepared—along different channels—the conspiratorial plot, the political defense and the disinformation of the investigation. During the critical days *El Popular* received instructions, undoubtedly, from Toledano himself. It is quite probable that none other than he is the author of the article of May 25. In other words, Lombardo Toledano took moral part in the preparation of the attempt and in covering up its traces.

For a clearer understanding of the background of the assault as well as of certain circumstances relating to the investigation, it is necessary to say a few words about my guard. There were reports in the newspapers to the effect that I "hired" almost strangers for the guard, that they were people who worked for pay, etc. All this is false. My guard has existed since the day of my exile to Turkey, i.e., almost twelve years. The composition of the guard was constantly changing depending on the country where I lived, although a few of my collaborators accompanied me from one country to another. The guard has always consisted of young comrades, tied to me by the identity of political views and selected by my older and more experienced friends from among volunteers of whom there has been no lack.

The movement to which I belong is a young movement

which arose under unprecedented persecutions on the part of the Moscow oligarchy and its agencies in all countries of the world. Generally speaking, it is hardly possible to find in history another movement which has suffered so many victims in so short a time as has the movement of the Fourth International. My personal and profound conviction is that in our epoch of wars, seizures, rapine, destruction, and all sorts of bestialities, the Fourth International is destined to fulfill a great historical role. But this is the future. In the past it has known only blows and persecutions. No one could have hoped during the last twelve years to make a career with the help of the Fourth International. For this reason the movement was joined by people selfless, convinced, and ready to renounce not only material boons, but if necessary, to sacrifice their lives. Without any desire of falling into idealization, I shall nevertheless permit myself to say that it is hardly possible to find in any other organization such a selection of people devoted to their banner and alien to personal pretensions as in the Fourth International. My guard has been throughout recruited from among this youth.

The guard in Mexico was at first constituted of young Mexican friends. However, I soon became convinced of the inconvenience of such an arrangement. My enemies systematically tried to involve me in Mexican politics in order thus to make impossible my stay in the country. And inasmuch as my young Mexican friends, living in my house, actually could to a certain degree appear as agents of my political influence, I was compelled to refuse their participation in the guard and replaced them by foreigners, primarily from among citizens of the United States. They were all sent here after special selection by my experienced and old friends.

Let me add for the sake of complete clarity that the guard is not maintained by me (I lack such resources) but by a special committee which collects the necessary funds among friends and sympathizers. We live—my family and guards—as a small shut-in commune, separated by four high walls from the outside world. All these circumstances suffice to explain why I consider myself justified in placing trust in my guard and believing it incapable of treachery or crime.

Despite all precautions, it is, of course, impossible to consider as absolutely excluded the possibility that an isolated agent of the GPU could worm his way into the guard. The investigation placed under suspicion from the very beginning Robert Sheldon Harte, the kidnaped member of my guard,

as an accomplice in the assault. I replied to this: if Sheldon Harte were an agent of the GPU he could have killed me at night and gotten away without setting in motion twenty people all of whom were subjected to a great risk. Moreover, in the days immediately prior to the assault, Sheldon Harte was busy with such innocent things as buying little birds, repairing a bird cage, painting it, etc. I have not heard a single convincing argument to indicate that Sheldon Harte was a GPU agent. Therefore I announced from the outset to my friends that I would be the last one to give credence to Sheldon's participation in the assault. If contrary to all my suppositions such a participation should be confirmed, then it would change nothing essential in the general character of the assault. With the aid of one of the members of the guard or without this aid the GPU organized a conspiracy to kill me and to burn my archives. That is the essence of the case.

In its official declarations the Communist Party reiterates that individual terror does not enter into its system of actions, etc. No one supposes that the assault was organized by the Communist Party. The GPU makes use of the Communist Party but is not at all merged with the Communist Party.

Among the possible participants in the assault, those who are well acquainted with the internal life of the Communist Party have mentioned an individual who was in his day expelled from the party, and was later, in return for some kind of services, reinstated. The question of the category of the "expelled" is generally of great interest from the standpoint of investigating the criminal methods of the GPU. In the first period of the struggle against the Opposition in the USSR, Stalin's clique used to intentionally expel from the party the least stable Oppositionists, placing them in extremely difficult material circumstances and thus giving the GPU the opportunity for recruiting among them agents for work among the Opposition. Later on this method was perfected and extended to all the parties of the Third International.

The expelled may be divided into two categories: some leave the party because of principled differences and turn their back to the Kremlin and seek new roads. Others are expelled for careless handling of funds or other actual or alleged crimes of a moral nature. The majority of the expelled in this second category have become closely attached to the party apparatus, are incapable of any other work, and have grown too accustomed to a privileged position. The expelled of this type constitute valuable material for the GPU which transforms

them into obedient tools for the most dangerous and criminal undertakings.

The leader of the Mexican Communist Party for many years, Laborde,<sup>183</sup> was recently expelled on the most monstrous charges: as a man who was venal, a man who sold out strikes, and even took bribes from . . . "Trotskyites." The most astonishing thing, however, is that despite the extremely opprobrious nature of the charges, Laborde did not attempt even to justify himself. He showed thereby that the expulsion was necessary for some mysterious aims which he, Laborde, dared not oppose. Still more, he utilized the first opportunity in order to declare in the press his immutable loyalty to the party even after his expulsion. Simultaneously with him a number of others were expelled who follow the same tactic. These people are capable of anything. They will carry out any order, perpetrate any crime, so as not to lose favor with the party. It is even possible that some of them were expelled in order to remove beforehand from the party any responsibility for their participation in the assault that was being prepared. The instructions whom to expel and under what pretext come in such cases from the most trusted representatives of the GPU who hide behind the scenes.

For Stalin it would have been most profitable to have organized the murder in such a way as to represent it before the world working class as a sudden and spontaneous chastisement of an "enemy of the people" by Mexican workers. Worthy of attention from this standpoint is the persistence and eagerness of the GPU in linking me up at all costs with the presidential election campaign, namely, the candidacy of General Almazan. A number of declarations by Toledano, and by leaders of the Communist Party, reveal this strategic plan quite clearly: to find or to create a favorable pretext which would enable them to deal arms in hand with their enemies, on which list I probably do not occupy the last place. There can be no doubt that among the workers' militia of the CTM there are special secret shock groups created by the GPU for the most risky undertakings.

In order to parry this plan in time I persistently demanded on every occasion in the press the establishment of an impartial investigating commission to sift all false reports. But even without this the public opinion of Mexico has obviously up to now rejected the slander. The Stalinists, so far as I am able to judge, have not succeeded in inculcating workers' circles with hatred toward me. Stalin, meanwhile, got tired of waiting

for the outburst of "popular indignation" and the GPU received from him orders to act through the more customary and direct methods.

The accidental failure of the assault, so carefully and so ably prepared, is a serious blow to Stalin. The GPU must rehabilitate itself with Stalin. Stalin must demonstrate his power. A repetition of the attempt is inevitable. In what form? Possibly once again in the form of a pure terrorist act where along with machine guns will appear bombers. But it is not at all excluded that they will try to cover up the terrorist act by means of faked "popular indignation." The slanderous campaign which is being conducted with ever increasing venom by Stalin's agents in Mexico is aimed precisely for this purpose.

To justify their persecution of me, and to cover up the assaults of the GPU, the agents of the Kremlin talk about my "counterrevolutionary" tendency. It all depends on what one understands as revolution and counterrevolution. The most powerful force of the counterrevolution in our epoch is imperialism, both in its fascist form as well as in its quasi-democratic cover. Not one of the imperialist countries wishes to permit me inside its territories. As regards the oppressed and semi-independent countries, they refuse to accept me under the pressure of imperialist governments or of the Moscow bureaucracy, which now plays an extremely reactionary role in the entire world. Mexico extended hospitality to me because Mexico is not an imperialist country; and for this reason its government proved to be, as a rare exception, sufficiently independent of external pressure to guide itself in accordance with its own principles. I can therefore state that I live on this earth not in accordance with the rule but as an exception to the rule.

In a reactionary epoch such as ours, a revolutionist is compelled to swim against the stream. I am doing this to the best of my ability. The pressure of world reaction has expressed itself perhaps most implacably in my personal fate and the fate of those close to me. I do not at all see in this any merit of mine: this is the result of the interlacing of historical circumstances. But when people of the type of Toledano, Laborde, et al. proclaim me to be a "counterrevolutionist," I can calmly pass them by, leaving the final verdict to history.

## DISCUSSIONS WITH TROTSKY<sup>184</sup>

June 12-15, 1940

### Agenda:

1. Report on Conference of Fourth International
2. War and Perspectives
3. Aftermath of Internal Fight
4. Party Organization, Methods, etc.
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### MINUTES:

(Secretary not present at first session. Excused)

June 12, 1940

*Trotsky:* It is extremely difficult to make prognoses on account of the unprecedented character of the war. The moral factor in the French army is the big unknown. The intervention of Italy complicates and at the same time simplifies the situation. If Great Britain and France do not capitulate, they must seek a redoubt in the Mediterranean. This would signify an aggressive policy toward Italy. That Italy is now destroying the bridges on her border with France shows that Italy does not intend to invade France but fears invasion. The Alps give France the advantage. It is downhill fighting for them. Italy follows a purely defensive policy in the Alps, an offensive policy in relation to the Suez Canal, North Africa, etc. As for the invasion of the British Isles by Hitler, that would mean only a question of national existence; the Mediterranean is the question of the empire's existence.

It is not excluded that Italy will prove to be Germany's weak link. Great Britain can use North Africa for a new base of operations. It would mean blockading Europe. In regard to the invasion of Great Britain, Churchill speaks of retreating to Canada,<sup>185</sup> but he didn't mention the Mediterranean area. Are they ready to abandon this area? It is more natural that they would fight retreating to the Mediterranean. Then

America would be the third phase. If it were not necessary for Great Britain to defend the isles any longer, she would have the preponderance in the Mediterranean. She would make Italy the objective of an intensive fight and blockade Germany, that is, Europe.

It is also excluded that Russia will enter the war on the side of Hitler and Mussolini. If the United States enters the war, and I believe it will, this will have a tremendous influence on Moscow. Let us consider the alternative: not to enter. The very speed of Germany's advance fortifies the isolationists who would wait for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Latin America to drop in their lap. Then a war against Japan before meeting Hitler. But not only the isolationists, but the march of war in Europe determines the course that will be followed.

I must confess that I have read little about the war during the past few weeks beyond what appears in the newspapers. You will understand that this other matter [the assassination attempt] preoccupied my attention.

The so-called isolationists are inclined to accept the defeat of the British Empire. They are afraid of Hitler. They say that they can't postpone the war against him. He can prevent us from obtaining the British heritage. Hence we read in the papers that the Senate unanimously votes an unprecedented power to Roosevelt. This indicates that he has made an agreement with both the Republicans and the Democrats about the necessity of entering the war.

Cardenas's telegram of sympathy for France over the Italian entrance into the war is the Mexican response to the American voices that Mexico is Nazi and hence intervention is required. It signifies agreement between Cardenas and Washington. Of course those are my impressions rather than sure conclusions. As I mentioned, I have not been following the events the past few weeks as closely as necessary for sure conclusions. Latest events have brought the United States closer to the war. What form will the war have? If the Allies should succeed against Italy, then they would have good air bases against Germany. Success against Italy gives mastery over Spain. Support from the United States in the form of war materials can then become very effective. United States entry might possibly begin with airplanes, battleships, possibly marines—but not the army, at least at the beginning. The sea fleets must be organized in conjunction with Britain and France; a blockade must be organized of Europe in order to stifle Hitler economically despite his victories. This can be done especially if they win

Moscow which is very probable. Such successes in Italy would swing Moscow to the Allies, at least as much as toward Germany at the present—like a satellite swung by a new force.

Our working hypothesis for propaganda must be six months legality—no more. We have often discussed illegality and how to work under such conditions. Illegality can be maintained only if we are hidden in mass organizations.

Militarization now goes on on a tremendous scale. We cannot oppose it with pacifist phrases. This militarization has wide support among the workers. They bear a sentimental hatred against Hitler mixed with confused class sentiments. They have a hatred against the victorious brigands. The bureaucracy utilizes this to say help the defeated gangster. Our conclusions are completely different. But this sentiment is the inevitable base for the last period of preparation. We must find a new realistic base for this preparation. We must oppose sending untrained boys into battle. The trade unions not only must protect the workers in peaceful times and protect their industrial skill, but they must now demand the possibility of learning the military art from the state.

For instance in the trade union we can argue like this: I am a socialist and you are a patriot. Good. We will discuss this difference between us. But we should agree that the workers be trained at government expense to become military experts. Schools should be set up in connection with the trade unions—at government expense but under the control of the trade unions. This kind of approach would give us access to the workers, who are 95 to 98 percent patriotic even at the present time.

Only with this perspective, not abstract opposition to militarism, can we have success in the trade unions and the military organizations. We can find in this way new routes and sympathies for illegal situations. Of course the technical side of underground activity is important but it is only a small part of illegal activity.

As for the Stalinists. They flatly oppose the entrance of the United States until Moscow switches. But meantime there is an important distinction between them and us. Abstract slogans have a similarity. They with their larger organization shout louder than us. We must seek to create a very clear distinction in the matter of militarism. Naturally we are against all these things in general but we have particular differences over the matter of militarization. It makes the most important difference in the matter of preparing for illegality.

Everything indicates that Moscow is preparing a switch.

In Mexico, where these shifts are often indicated first, the CP has the right to place Hitler on the same level as Churchill. On the day that Moscow makes a half turn toward the democracies as a half friend, there will be a new explosion in the ranks of the CP. We must be ready to gain from it. I consider the possibilities in the CP very good despite the transitory radicalness of the CP, which cannot be for long. Likewise, in general, despite the CP radicalness, possibilities are very good. It is possible that the U.S. will enter during the next six months. It will enter as a military machine. We must learn how to handle arms. All things will now be decided on the military front.

The state is now organizing tremendous military machines with millions of men. No longer do we have just the small possibilities of defense guards but the wide possibilities given by the bourgeois state itself.

*Cannon:* Can this take the form of resolutions in the trade unions? Do we demand military equipment, training, etc.? What about the possibility of confusing us with the patriots?

*Trotsky:* Partial confusion is inevitable, especially at the beginning. But we place our whole agitation on a class basis. We are against the bourgeois officers who treat you like cattle, who use you for cannon-fodder. We are concerned about the deaths of the workers, unlike the bourgeois officers. We want workers' officers.

We can say to the workers: We are ready for revolution. But you aren't ready. But both of us want our own workers' officers in this situation. We want special workers' schools which will train us to be officers.

At first the bourgeois press will hesitate. It may even support the idea. But with the class lines sharply drawn they will be disquieted and then launch an attack.

*Cannon:* The *New York Times* just printed an editorial advocating universal military training. Do we agree with that?

*Trotsky:* Yes. That is correct—but under control of our own organizations. We reject the control of the Sixty Families. We want an improvement of conditions for the worker-soldier. We want to safeguard his life. Not waste it. Yes, Mr. Bourgeois, you must depend on the workers. You train them for your own aims. We want them trained for their own aims. We don't want them trained for the command of stupid indif-

ferent bourgeois officers who will use them for cannon-fodder.

*Dobbs:* On the technical side there is an abundance of material for such agitation. Men were drafted in May and within two or three months were dead in France. They were not properly trained to take care of themselves. We can compile factual material in relation to past experience. In advocating that workers be trained as officers we can compile material on how officers have wasted material. Also it is a good point in arguing against the patriots by showing how the workers lost their lives because they weren't trained. It is a very impressive argument with workers.

*Cannon:* Doesn't this line make a very sharp break with the pacifists such as Norman Thomas and the Keep America Out of War outfit? For a long time our agitation has been abstract. It was against war in general. Only revolution can stop war. Hence we favor universal training. The difficulty is to make clear that we are really against war. We need very clear and precise formulations.

*Dobbs:* We can attack the pacifists. Wouldn't that solve it? It is inevitable that we have to fight. You must train yourselves. Whether in the red or the bourgeois army you must train yourselves.

*Cannon:* It signifies too a re-education of our own movement. The youth has been impregnated with an anti-militarist and escapist attitude toward war. Already many have asked about going to Mexico in order to hide out. Our propaganda is not sufficiently separated from that of the pacifists. We say there must be no war! At the same time we say we can't avoid war! There is a link missing somewhere. All questions will be solved with war. Mere opposition can't signify anything. But the problem which requires clearest formulation is making ourselves distinct from the patriots.

*Konikow:* What about our slogans such as "not a cent for war"?

*Trotsky:* Suppose we had a senator. He would introduce a bill in favor of training camps for workers. He might ask 500 millions for it. At the same time he would vote against the military budget because it is controlled by class enemies. We can't expropriate the bourgeoisie at present, so we allow them to exploit the workers. But we try to protect the workers

with trade unions. The courts are bourgeois but we don't boycott them as do the anarchists. We try to use them and fight within them. Likewise with parliaments. We are enemies of the bourgeoisie and its institutions, but we utilize them. War is a bourgeois institution a thousand times more powerful than all the other bourgeois institutions. We accept it as a fact like the bourgeois schools and try to utilize it. Pacifists accept everything bourgeois but militarism. They accept the schools, the parliament, the courts, without question. Everything is good in peacetime. But militarism, which is just as much bourgeois as the rest? No, they draw back and say we don't want any of that. The Marxists try to utilize war like any other bourgeois institution. It is clear now that in the next period our opposition to militarism will constitute the base for our propaganda: our agitation will be for the training of the masses.

Our military transitional program is an agitational program. Our socialist revolutionary program is propaganda.

We must be terribly categoric in the next period. We must brand Thomas as the most perfidious enemy. We must say the war is inevitable. Bureaucrats! this war signifies the death of your trade unions. We must make the most categoric predictions in the darkest colors. We must come out categorically for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must make a complete break with the pacifists. A short time ago everyone was against the war. Any confusion with the pacifists is a hundred times more dangerous than temporary confusion with the bourgeois militarists. We prepare the new arena to overthrow the militarists. The pacifists help to lull the workers to support the militarists. Thomas, we must predict, will support the war—war is inevitable. We must learn the art of handling arms. As for the escapists—including those in our own party—we must speak about them with full contempt. They are deserters. Likewise with the conscientious objectors who accepted everything in peacetime but don't want to accept war. Escapists are deserters from their class and their revolution.

*Konikow:* Yes, we must not run away from the masses.

*Gordon:* I believe that the rapid militarization among the broad masses will aid in putting over this program and make it easier than among the radicals, where anti-militarism has a long tradition. Men such as Debs are their heroes.<sup>186</sup> This tradition still exists in the labor movement. Just how to get around it is not yet clear in my mind.

*Trotsky:* Not even Debs had the perspective of taking power and launching the socialist society. He proclaimed his aversion to war and went to prison. He was brave and honest but he did not have the perspective of revolution.

*Cannon:* It was a protest and not a revolutionary approach. Our movement is infected with it, contaminated, especially the youth who had the socialist tradition of protest but not the tradition of entering the armed forces and conquering them.

*Trotsky:* It is no longer the slogan "Jobs not Guns." In a military situation we need new slogans. It would be good to have a party discussion, possibly a small conference to elaborate a good start for this agitation. We could try out a small experience in Minneapolis or St. Paul and see. We should have articles in the magazine on military questions. Likewise in the *Socialist Appeal*. In four or five weeks we can make a re-orientation. Even those in the majority with an old trade union background can be re-educated at an extremely rapid tempo. Thomas and his ilk will become ridiculous in a short time and lose their audience. In order to fight the real enemy, we must enter his land, which is now militarism.

*Cannon:* Can we be called militarists?

*Trotsky:* Yes—in a certain sense—we are proletarian socialist revolutionary militarists. Possibly we should not use it at first. Wait until we are called militarists by Thomas or someone like that, and then make a polemical reply. Thomas has called us militarists. Yes, we can be called militarists in a certain sense. Then we can use it with this explanation.

*Konikow:* We started to discuss this in our branch but were afraid to bring it out on account of spies. We don't want to bring about the conditions where they will put our young men in concentration camps instead of the army. We were almost afraid our members would be excluded from the army. How can we agitate so as not to be stamped in advance as traitors?

*Trotsky:* We will have victims. It is inevitable. There will be carelessness and so on. But the general line will protect us. In the union I can say I am for the Fourth International. I am against war. But I am with you. I will not sabotage the war. I will be the best soldier just as I was the best and

most skilled worker in the factory. At the same time I will try to convince you that we should change our society. In court my fellow-worker would say, "He said that he would be a disciplined soldier, that he wouldn't provoke rebellions. All he asked for was the right to give his opinion." We can make a similar defense in court for our prediction regarding the doom of bourgeois society. If the bourgeoisie could preserve democracy, good, but within a year they will impose a dictatorship. We are against dictatorship. We will fight arms in hand against such a dictatorship. Naturally in principle we would overthrow so-called bourgeois democracy given the opportunity, but the bourgeois won't give us time.

*Dobbs:* Just as in the factory one must be a very good worker in order to influence the other workers, so in war he must be a good soldier.

*Konikow:* We must use caution in our agitation.

*Cannon:* To what extent can we use the analogy of the army and the factory? Can we use it as categorically as you have expressed it here?

*Trotsky:* Yes, I think so. In the factories now more than half of their produce is war goods.

*Dobbs:* Whether we enlist or wait for conscription or avoid entering is a practical question, isn't it? Whether we join voluntarily, await conscription or evade conscription—that's a practical day-to-day question.

*Trotsky:* We must be for compulsory military training for the workers and under the control of the workers. It is an approach to the workers' militia. As to entry into the army that is an individual question. Obviously we don't agitate for entry!

*Dobbs:* In Texas a congressman proposes appropriations for the creation of military combat units against the Fifth Column. These workers are to be trained by officers to be selected by the employer. That appears to be an ideal case, one we should pick up and show how it should be turned around and used.

*Trotsky:* There will be dozens of such examples.

One more point: We must polemicize against the stupid argu-

ment that the U.S. cannot be attacked. Of course the U.S. is attacked. Any modern empire is attacked by changes in the military powers of other countries. Germany threatens the empire of the United States. Capitalism is international.

June 13, 1940

*Cannon:* . . . We consider that the return of 10 percent would be the maximum that it would be healthy for our party to take back.<sup>187</sup> Five percent is about what we actually expect. Looking over their entire ranks we cannot envisage more than 10 percent that are worth taking back. We contemplate no unity movements. Absolute hostility is our attitude. We expect their complete disintegration. Burnham's resignation deals them a terrible moral blow. Many thought that they would suppress their own internal differences for six months or so just for the sake of appearances and pride. Burnham utilized Shachtman and Abern for a dignified political retreat rather than open desertion.<sup>188</sup> The minority have no links with the mass movement. In maritime where we are strong, they have one to three who sympathize with their program. In automobile there are no minorityites. Likewise with the truckdrivers. There is no need to contemplate organizational relations with the minority. Open hammer blows rather than a policy of maneuver. As their position becomes more clearly hopeless they may start a unity movement. But we must be very careful. They are not assimilable in the great majority. We did not provoke the fight or the split, but despite the overhead cost it is hard to see how we could have built the kind of party we want for this epoch without a split.

The problem is the Stalinists, not the centrists. We are more effective than all the centrist groups. Centrists upon leaving Marxism don't stop halfway. They go clear to Roosevelt. This is shown particularly by the New York intellectuals who have played a most miserable role. This is one of the features that will have most deadly effect on the minority. Shachtman and Abern are only a stepping stone on the way to Roosevelt. They have no recruiting power except here and there incidentally.

The problem of converting an ideological grouping into a workers' party is the most difficult of all. The worker militant is not interested in ideological struggles until they touch his daily life. We have an example of this in the party. While the top engaged in a polemical struggle, the trade unionists were recruiting right along.

The general perspective is quite optimistic. The Stalinists

are the problem. By their change in line they dealt a heavy blow.<sup>189</sup> We were forging ahead when they made the switch, paralyzing our work. The workers are unable to distinguish the real difference between us, especially with the faction fight compelling us to give undue emphasis to our defense of the Soviet Union. We need a line of agitation to distinguish ourselves from them. The Stalinist party still has a powerful cadre of militants. It has a strong trade union machine which draws the workers. The [Stalin-Hitler] pact seemed to disintegrate them, but it was losing just the democrats. The old militants are more devoted than ever. They believe that the party now has the "real revolutionary" line. We need a more effective counterattack against the Stalinists.

*Trotsky:* We don't participate in the presidential elections?

*Cannon:* There are very rigorous election laws which prevent small parties from getting on the ballot.

*Trotsky:* And the CP?

*Cannon:* The CP buys its way onto the ballot. For example, in upper New York where it is extremely reactionary, the CP simply buys signatures from those who make a business of dealing in signatures. For us there is no way to get on the ballot.

*Trotsky:* Your attitude toward the other parties?

*Cannon:* We are running local campaigns in some places for minor offices.

*Trotsky:* What do we tell the workers when they ask which president they should vote for?

*Cannon:* They shouldn't ask such embarrassing questions. We tried write-in campaigns in previous elections, but it is not serious. Nor can we support either the Stalinists or Thomas.

*Trotsky:* I see there is no campaign in the *Socialist Appeal* for a workers' candidate. Why haven't you proposed a congress of trade unions, a convention to nominate a candidate for the presidency? If he were independent we would support him. We cannot remain completely indifferent. We can very well insist in unions where we have influence that Roosevelt is not

our candidate and the workers must have their own candidate. We should demand a nationwide congress connected with the independent labor party.

*Dobbs:* For a while some people thought Lewis would run.<sup>190</sup> But Lewis never seriously intended to run. He attempted to bargain with the Roosevelt administration. Now it appears certain that Roosevelt will run.

*Trotsky:* With the centrists the situation is clear. For a long time in the United States, the socialist movement was not necessary. Now with changed times when it is necessary, it can't have a reformist nature. That possibility is exhausted. At one time the United States was rich in reformist tendencies, but the New Deal was the last flareup. Now with the war it is clear that the New Deal exhausted all the reformist and democratic possibilities and created incomparably more favorable possibilities for revolution.

I talked with E. a few weeks ago. For Roosevelt, but absolutely helpless about further possibilities of democracy. When I questioned him he was absolutely incapable of answering, and I thought he was going to break down in tears like a little boy.

The entrance into the war is the end of the last remnants of the New Deal and Good Neighbor policy. The Roosevelt of the third term will be completely different from the Roosevelt of the first two terms.

*Dobbs:* In the CIO and the AFL the leaders have been affected by Roosevelt's war drive, becoming more and more outspoken for unity. Tobin has become more expressive, more deeply involved.<sup>191</sup> Behind the scenes he moves in coordination with the war moves. Dubinsky, one of the original CIO leaders, voted to reaffiliate with the AFL, thus weakening Lewis. Hillman, a CIO leader, negotiated a jurisdiction agreement with Dubinsky and is cool toward Lewis.<sup>192</sup> There is grave danger of capitulation on the part of the top bureaucrats, weakening the industrial workers. Lewis may have to reach unity at the expense of industrial unionism. All these leaders are jumping as Roosevelt cracks the whip.

*Trotsky:* The Stalinists are clearly the most important for us. E. says they lost 15 percent but that the workers remain true to the party. It is a question of attitude. Their dependence on the Kremlin was of great value to the national leaders.

Their line was changed from patriotism to antiwar. In the next period their dependence on the Kremlin will create great difficulties for them.

They are antiwar and anti-imperialist, but so are we in general. Do we have a nucleus among them?

*Cannon:* We have a small nucleus in New York and in one or two other places.

*Trotsky:* Sent in?

*Dobbs:* No. They came to us and we advised them to stay and work within.

*Cannon:* We got some with our campaign against the fascists.

*Trotsky:* Theoretically it is possible to support the Stalinist candidate. It is a way of approaching the Stalinist workers. We can say, yes, we know this candidate. But we will give critical support. We can repeat on a small scale what we would do if Lewis were nominated.

Theoretically it is not impossible. It would be very difficult, it is true—but then it is only an analysis. They of course would say, we don't need your support. We would answer, we don't support you but the workers who support you. We warn them but go through the experience with them. These leaders will betray you. It is necessary to find an approach to the Stalinist party. Theoretically it is not impossible to support their candidate with very sharp warnings. It would seize them. What? How?

*Konikow:* But in Boston the Stalinists wouldn't even permit us to enter their hall. They even threw our comrade outside.

*Trotsky:* I know. They have even shot at us. But some tens of thousands of workers are with them. I don't know exactly how many. It is very difficult to determine. Of course we would suffer the indignation of Burnham. Shachtman would say, "See, I predicted it—capitulation to Stalinism." There would even be considerable aversion in our ranks. But the question is the Stalinist workers. The working class is decisive. With guarantees, warnings, why not consider it? Is Browder a worse rascal than Lewis? I doubt it. Both are rascals.

*Cannon:* The Stalinist movement is peculiar. In France we

could approach the Socialists and join them.<sup>193</sup> The Stalinists are large compared to us but small compared with the CIO. The Stalinists are hated by the militants. It is not the psychological attitude of our members but the broad anti-Stalinist movement. If we started to play this kind of politics we would run into this indignation of these militants. For example, the food workers in New York. Our comrades succeeded in creating a strong progressive faction. They may possibly be elected to posts. We built our strength on opposition to Stalinist control of the union. Such a line would disrupt our work. The same is true in the maritime unions and in the auto union. The Stalinists are the main obstacle. A policy of maneuver would be disastrous. What we gained from the Stalinists we would lose otherwise.

*Trotsky:* Before entrance into the Socialist Party we tried to analyze the situation in the same way. Before entrance into the Socialist Party we had the perspective of exhausting all the possibilities. We were not closer to Thomas than we are to Browder. Those advocating entry predicted that we would finish with the SP and then turn to the CP. Imagine the CP without holding a specific hatred toward it. Could we enter it as we did the SP? I see no reason why not—theoretically. Physically it would be impossible but not in principle. After entrance into the SP there is nothing that would prevent our entrance into the CP. But that is excluded. We can't enter. They won't let us.

Can we make this maneuver from the outside? The progressive elements oppose the Stalinists but we don't win many progressive elements. Everywhere we meet Stalinists. How to break the Stalinist party? The support of the progressives is not stable. It is found at the top of the union rather than as a rank and file current. Now with the war we will have these progressives against us. We need a stronger base in the ranks. There are small Tobins on whom we depend. They depend on big Tobins. They on Roosevelt. This phase is inevitable. It opened the door for us in the trade unions. But it can become dangerous. We can't depend on those elements or their sentiments. We will lose them and isolate ourselves from the Stalinist workers. Now we have no attitude toward them. Burnham and Shachtman opposed an active attitude toward the Stalinists. They are not an accident but a crystallization of American workers abused by Moscow. They represent a whole period from 1917 up to date. We can't move without them. The coincidence between their slogans and ours

is transitory, but it can give us a bridge to these workers. The question must be examined. If persecutions should begin tomorrow, it would begin first against them, second against us. The honest, hard members will remain true. The progressives are a type in the leadership. The rank and file are disquieted, unconsciously revolutionary.

*Dobbs:* It is not quite correct to say that the "progressives" include only the tops of the unions. The progressives include the rank and file, especially is this true in the big unions.

*Cannon:* They are not cohesive, but in revolt against the Stalinists. Where the Stalinists control the union that is where a real anti-Stalinist movement is strongest. The Stalinists control the maritime unions by and large and we have a powerful experience in development of a progressive revolt against them.

*Robins:* The trade union movement grew by the millions. A new bureaucracy was formed, there was a new stream of union-conscious members. In this there were two currents, the Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists. Both streams included both rank and filers and bureaucrats.

*Trotsky:* But why the difference?

*Robins:* The difference began in 1934 when the Stalinists emerged from the red unions and were taken as a revolutionary movement.<sup>194</sup> Many were corrupted. Many thought the New Deal swing a maneuver. The Stalinists made a deal with the CIO tops. They led many unions. They had a reputation of militancy. No one policy, it is true, but they recruited as revolutionists. Now they are not considered revolutionists. Many of the best have dropped out. Those remaining are bureaucrats or confused.

*Cannon:* The problem is to get the CP out of the road. There is not a large percentage of revolutionary material in its ranks. They have discontented workers who saw no other force. They attract through the sheer inertia of a big apparatus and a big party. They use corruption where they do not already control the machinery. They use economic terrorism. They do everything the old-time bureaucrats did but on a conveyor system. Unquestionably there are good workers among them, but only

a small percentage. It is a terrible danger to risk the condemnation of non-Stalinist workers for the sake of a maneuver that would win little.

The progressive movement is composed of anti-Stalinists and legitimate rank and file forces organized by us. The Stalinists even buy old-time fakers. They provoke a legitimate movement of protest which is our main source of recruitment and which comes during the struggle against the CP. In the Los Angeles auto movement, for example, some ex-CPers organized a counter-movement from which we recruited. The Stalinists have built up a terrible hatred against themselves. Seventy-five percent is genuine workers' grievances and consists of many former Stalinists animated by a terrible bitterness. A complicated maneuver giving the possibility of identifying us with the Stalinists would be wrong. Our main line must be toward the non-Stalinist workers. We must handle the Stalinist question within this framework.

*Gordon:* I am against the maneuver. Perhaps I am not entirely rational about this. Perhaps it is mostly from inertia. Cannon wrote about the Stalinists that they are an alien movement in the workers' movement, irresponsible. Our influence in the progressive groups is a top movement, not a rank and file movement, especially in New York. Our position is very precarious. Not something that we can look forward to as a big recruiting ground. The Stalinist influence in the unions is quite solid. They make deals with the old-time fakers, but also have a rank and file following. In the painters union they made a deal with the gangsters but also were supported by the anti-gangster following. We built up a movement, kicked out the Stalinists but couldn't consolidate or recruit. Stalinists operate with corruption, but different degrees of corruption. A worker in the TWU [Transport Workers Union] who quit the CP in 1938 told us that they are disillusioned with the CP but not enough to join us. They use corruption by degrees—the best jobs are given to the Stalinists, lesser jobs to the group surrounding them, lesser jobs to sympathizers. The militants don't regard themselves as corrupt—just members of the CP. "If we don't get the jobs, the reactionaries will." That seems to be their attitude.

But we don't have contact with the Stalinist rank and file. Before we could make such a maneuver we need to organize a nucleus in the Stalinists.

*Trotsky:* If the results of our conversation were nothing more than more precise investigation in relation to the Stalinists it would be very fruitful.

Our party is not bound to the Stalinist maneuver any more than it was to the SP maneuver. Nevertheless we undertook such a maneuver. We must add up the pluses and minuses. The Stalinists gained their influence during the past ten years. There was the Depression and then the tremendous trade union movement culminating in the CIO. Only the craft unionists could remain indifferent.

The Stalinists tried to exploit this movement, to build up their own bureaucracy. The progressives are afraid of this. The politics of these so-called progressives is determined by their need to meet the needs of the workers in this movement, on the other hand it comes from fear of the Stalinists. They can't have the same policy as Green because otherwise the Stalinists would occupy their posts.<sup>195</sup> Their existence is a reflex of this new movement, but it is not a direct reflection of the rank and file. It is an adaptation of the conservative bureaucrats to this situation. There are two competitors, the progressive bureaucrats and the Stalinists. We are a third competitor trying to capture this sentiment. These progressive bureaucrats can lean on us for advisors in the fight against the Stalinists. But the role of an advisor to a progressive bureaucrat doesn't promise much in the long run. Our real role is that of third competitor.

Then the question of our attitude toward these bureaucrats—do we have an absolutely clear position toward these competitors? These bureaucrats are Rooseveltians, militarists. We tried to penetrate the trade unions with their help. This was a correct maneuver, I believe. We can say that the question of the Stalinists would be resolved in passing insofar as we succeed in our main maneuver. But before the presidential campaign and the war question we have time for a small maneuver. We can say, your leaders betray you, but we support you without any confidence in your leaders in order to show that we can go with you and to show that your leaders will betray you.

It is a short maneuver, not hinging on the main question of the war. But it is necessary to know incomparably better the Stalinists and their place in the trade unions, their reaction to our party. It would be fatal to pay too much attention to the impression that we can make on the pacifists and on our "progressive" bureaucrat friends. In this case we become the squeezed lemon of the bureaucrats. They use us against

the Stalinists but as the war nears call us unpatriotic and expel us. These Stalinist workers can become revolutionary, especially if Moscow changes its line and becomes patriotic. At the time of Finland, Moscow made a difficult turn; a new turn is still more painful.

But we must have contact and information. I don't insist on this plan, understand, but we must have a plan. What plan do you propose? The progressive bureaucrats and dishonest centrists of the trade union movement reflect important changes in the base, but the question is how to approach the base? We encounter between us and the base, the Stalinists.

*Konikow:* To support the Stalinists in the presidential campaign would kill us. They shift their line—

*Trotsky:* Nothing can kill us, Comrade Konikow.

*Konikow:* Our sympathizers would be driven away. The Stalinists cannot even talk with us. They are expelled for talking with us.

*Trotsky:* That is a blow against the party. They say that we are agents of this and that power. We say, if your leaders are serious against war then we are with you, but your leaders will betray you. It is the politics of critical support. Tobin, for example, is a faker combined with a reactionary stupid petty-bourgeois, but would we vote for him if he were running on an independent ticket for president? Yes.

*Konikow:* But Tobin or Lewis wouldn't kill us.

*Trotsky:* I am not so sure. Lewis would kill us very efficiently if he were elected and war came. It is not a sentimental question. It is how to break this hypnosis. They say the Trotskyites are agents—but we say if you are seriously against the war we are with you. Even the problem of making them listen to us—we meet that by explaining. It is a very daring undertaking. But the cohesion of our party is such that we could succeed. But if we reject this plan, then we must find another policy. I repeat then we must find another policy. What is it?

*Cornell:* We must keep aware of the main task, to present ourselves to the American workers. I think that we would be swallowed up in this maneuver because of the size of the party. Now we are becoming able to separate ourselves from

them—but this maneuver would swallow us up. We must be careful to make an independent stand, not as an opposition movement to the Stalinists.

*Trotsky:* It is not a question of entry. And such a maneuver would be very short and very critical. The maneuver itself presupposes that we are an independent party. The maneuver is a measure of our independence. The workers of the Stalinist party are in a closed milieu, hypnotized by lies for a long time. Now the persecution from the war begins. Our criticisms seem part of the persecution and suddenly we appear to support them—because of the bourgeois persecutions. I don't say even that we will actually vote for them—by November the situation can change. The leaders can carry out their betrayal.

*Hansen:* The maneuver seems to me to bear some resemblance to our united front proposal to the CP at the time of the anti-fascist demonstration. At the first demonstration, we made no such proposals. Many of the rank and file of our party criticized us. At the second demonstration we made such a proposal. It brought immediate response from the Stalinists. The rank and file were favorably impressed and questioned their leaders. The leaders were forced to launch a new campaign against us. We gained some members as a result.

*Trotsky:* The analogy holds except that then we had the initiative. Now they have the initiative. Good, we support this initiative. An investigation is needed, a small conference. I don't wish to exaggerate this maneuver. It is not our strategic line, but a tactical question. It is one possibility.

*Dobbs:* It seems to me you are considering two aspects of the question: One, you are weighing the question as to whether more is to be gained in numbers and quality than would be lost among the anti-Stalinists. Two, the maneuver is possible only while they have an antiwar attitude.

*Trotsky:* Yes. The Stalinist machine makes different turns and maneuvers in obedience to Moscow. Now they make a turn corresponding to the most intimate feelings of the rank and file. Now we can approach them or remain indifferent. We can give support to them against their leaders or remain aside.

There is a presidential campaign besides this. If you are an independent party you must have politics, a line in relation

to this campaign. I have tried to combine the two in a not decisive but important period. It combines the honest feelings of the Stalinist rank and file and also touches the masses at election time. If you had an independent candidate I would be for him, but where is he? It is either complete abstention from the campaign because of technical reasons, or you must choose between Browder and Norman Thomas. We can accept abstention. The bourgeois state deprived us the possibility of running our candidate. We can proclaim that everyone is a faker. That is one thing, but events confirming our proclamation is another. Shall we follow negative or dynamic politics? I must say that during the conversation I have become still more convinced that we must follow the dynamic course. However, I propose only a serious investigation, a discussion, and then a conference. We must have our own politics. Imagine the effect on the Stalinist rank and file. It would be very good. They expect from such a terrible enemy as us that we will throw very cold water on them. We will surprise them with some terribly hot water.

June 14, 1940

*Trotsky:* Toledano's speech, reported today in the press, is important for our policy in America. The Mexican people, says Toledano, "love" the United States and will fight the Nazis arms in hand. Toledano indicates complete fraternization with the democracies. This is the first announcement of a new turn by Moscow. I have a concrete suggestion, that we publish a letter to the Stalinist workers: during five years your leaders were protagonists of the democracies, then they changed and were against all the imperialisms. If you make a firm decision not to permit a change in line then we are ready to convoke a convention to support your presidential candidate. You must give a pledge. It would be a letter of propaganda and agitation to the Stalinist workers. We will see. It is probable that the line will change in some weeks. This letter would give you free possibilities without having to vote for their candidate.

*Cannon:* They will probably make a change before we return.

*Trotsky:* Yes, it is quite likely.

*Cannon:* We must exercise great caution in dealing with the Stalinists in order not to compromise ourselves. Yesterday's

discussion took a one-sided channel regarding our relations in the unions, that we act only as attorneys for the progressive labor fakers. This is very false. Our objective is to create our own forces. The problem is how to begin. All sectarians are independent forces—in their own imagination. Your impression that the anti-Stalinists are rival labor fakers is not quite correct. It has that aspect, but it has other aspects too. Without opposition to the Stalinists we have no reason for existing in the unions. We start as oppositionists and become irreconcilable. Where small groups break their necks is that they scorn maneuvers and combinations and never consolidate anything. At the opposite extreme is the Lovestone group.<sup>196</sup>

In the SUP [Sailors Union of the Pacific] we began without any members, the way we usually begin. Up to the time of the war it was hard to find a more fruitful ground than the anti-Stalinist elements. We began with this idea, that it is impossible to play a role in the unions unless you have people in the unions. With a small party, the possibility to enter is the first essential. In the SUP we made a combination with syndicalist elements. It was an exceptional situation, a small weak bureaucracy, most of whose policies were correct and which was against the Stalinists. It was incomprehensible that we could play any role except as an opposition to the Stalinists who were the most treacherous elements in the situation.

We formed a tacit bloc with the one possibility to enter the union freely. We were weak numerically, strong politically. The progressives grew, defeated the Stalinists. We grew too. We have fifty members and may possess soon fifty more. We followed a very careful policy—not to have sharp clashes which were not necessary anyway so far, so as not to bring about a premature split—not to let the main fight against the Stalinists be obscured.

The maritime unions are an important section in the field. Our first enemy there is the Stalinists. They are the big problem. In new unions such as the maritime, which in reality surged forward in 1934, shattering the old bureaucracy, the Stalinists came to the fore. The old-fashioned craft unionists cannot prevail against the Stalinists. The struggle for control is between us and the Stalinists. We have to be careful not to compromise this fight. We must be the classical intransigent force.

The Stalinists gained powerful positions in these unions, especially in the auto union. The Lovestoneites followed the policy outlined by Trotsky yesterday—attorneys for the labor fakers, especially in auto. They disappeared from the scene.

We followed a more careful policy. We tried to exploit the differences between the Martin gang and the Stalinists.<sup>197</sup> For a while we were the left wing of the Martin outfit, but we extricated ourselves in the proper time. Auto is ostensibly CIO but in reality the Stalinists are in control. Now we are coming forward as the leading and inspiring circle in the rank and file that has no top leaders, that is anti-Stalinist, anti-patriotic, anti-Lewis. We have every chance for success. We must not overlook the possibility that these chances developed from experiments in the past period to exploit differences between the union tops. If we had taken a sectarian attitude we would still be there.

In the food unions there was an inchoate opposition to the Stalinists. There were office-seekers, progressives, former CPers. We have only a few people. We must link ourselves with one or the other to come forward. Later we will be able to come forward. Two things can compromise us: One, confusion with the Stalinists. Two, a purist attitude. If we imagine ourselves a power, ignoring the differences between the reactionary wings, we will remain sterile.

*Dobbs:* The general situation leads me to believe that we would lose more than we would gain from giving the impression that we are locking arms with the Stalinists. We have made connections with reactionary people but at the same time we have gained some very good trade union elements, bringing them closer to true Bolshevism. We have gained additional footholds. In steel we have twenty-two comrades in the rank and file movement. Some playing a very important role. At the last convention one comrade especially got the biggest ovation at the convention when he made his speech. Prior to the convention we had only a small nucleus. Since then we have grown among the rank and file.

*Trotsky:* Can we get them to go against Roosevelt?

*Dobbs:* Yes.

*Trotsky:* For whom will they vote?

*Dobbs:* I don't know. Maybe Roosevelt. For us to turn to the Stalinists will sow real confusion in their minds. It should not be rushed in any case.

*Trotsky:* I believe we have the critical point very clear. We



Four participants in the discussions with Trotsky: left to right: (top) James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen; (bottom) Farrell Dobbs, Antoinette Konikow.

are in a bloc with so-called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes, they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive. You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions. The worker is an honest trade unionist but far from Bolshevik politics. The honest militant can develop but it is not identical with being a Bolshevik. You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists. They on the other hand are not worried in the slightest about being compromised by voting for Roosevelt against you. We are afraid of being compromised. If you are afraid, you lose your independence and become half-Rooseveltian. In peacetimes this is not catastrophic. In wartimes it will compromise us. They can smash us. Our policy is too much for pro-Rooseveltian trade unionists. I notice that in the *North-west Organizer* this is true.<sup>198</sup> We discussed it before, but not a word was changed; not a single word. The danger—a terrible danger—is adaptation to the pro-Rooseveltian trade unionists. You don't give any answer to the elections, not even the beginning of an answer. But we must have a policy.

It is not necessary now to vote for Browder. We are against Roosevelt. As for Norman Thomas, he is just a political misunderstanding. Browder however is a tremendous handicap because he has a "revolutionary" attitude toward the imperialist war, etc. And our attitude? We turn our backs and give no answer. I understand that the situation is difficult.

What I propose is a manifesto to the Stalinist workers, to say that for five years you were for Roosevelt, then you changed. This turn is in the right direction. Will you develop and continue this policy or not? Will you let the leaders change it or not? Will you continue and develop it or not? If you are firm we will support you. In this manifesto we can say that if you fix a sharp program for your candidate, then we will vote for him. I see no reason why we can't say this with these ifs. Does this signify that we have changed our trade union policy? Not at all. We continue to oppose them as before. We say, if you seriously consider your attitude to Roosevelt you would have such and such a policy in the trade unions. But you don't have such a policy there. We can't go along with you in the trade unions.

I would be very glad to hear even one single word from you on policy in regard to the presidential election.

*Cannon:* It is not entirely correct to pose the problem in that

way. We are not with the pro-Roosevelt militants. We developed when the Stalinists were pro-Rooseveltian. Their present attitude is conjunctural. It is not correct that we lean toward Roosevelt. Comrade Trotsky's polemic is a polemic for an independent candidate. If we were opposed to that then his account would be correct. For technical reasons we can't have an independent candidate. The real answer is independent politics.

It is a false issue: Roosevelt vs. the Stalinists. It is not a bona fide class opposition to Roosevelt. Possibly we could support Browder against Roosevelt, but Browder would not only repudiate our votes, but would withdraw in favor of Roosevelt.

*Trotsky:* That would be the very best occurrence for us. After laying down our conditions for support, this capitulation would win us a section of the Stalinists. It is not a strategic policy but a policy for the presidential campaign only.

The fact is that they have developed this antiwar propaganda. We must consider this important fact in the life of the American workers. We begin with nothing being done about the Stalinists.

The "progressive" rank and file are a kind of semifabrication. They have class struggle tendencies but they vote for Roosevelt. They are not formed politically. The rank and file Stalinists are not worse. They are caught in a machine. They are disciplined, political. Our aim is to oppose the Stalinist worker to the machine. How accomplish this? By leaving them alone? We will never do it. By postponing? That is not a policy.

We are for an independent labor ticket. But we don't even have this expressed in our press. Why? Because our party is embarrassed. It has no line on the elections.

Last January we discussed a campaign in the unions to have our own trade union presidential candidate. We were to start in Minneapolis. We were to address Tobin. We were to propose to him that we would vote for him if he were nominated. Even Lewis. We were to begin the campaign for a labor president. But not a thing was done. Nothing appeared. Nothing in the *Northwest Organizer*.

*Dobbs:* Perhaps it was my fault—

*Trotsky:* No. That is the bad Hitler theory of history—

I can't explain it by negligence. Nor just because it is a trade union paper with just a trade union policy. The members of the party could write letters to the editor. What do

their trade union leaders believe? Why can't our comrades write to the *Northwest Organizer*? We discussed in detail the technical details. But nothing was done. Why? It signifies an immediate clash with the Rooseveltians—not the rank and file—but a clash with our allies, the machine, the conscious Rooseveltians, who would immediately attack, a clash with our own class enemies such as Tobin.

*Cannon:* It is necessary to counterpose trade union candidates in the field. That would retain our following. But what I can't accept is Browder as a symbol of the class struggle.

*Trotsky:* That is a bit of false polemics. In January I didn't propose Browder. But you are reduced to Browder or Roosevelt. Why this lack of initiative? Why were these six months not utilized? Why? It is not reduced to an individual fight, it has general reasons. I discussed with O'Shea two years ago on this same problem and this same necessity. With Dunne too.<sup>199</sup> But the *Northwest Organizer* remains unchanged. It is a photograph of our adaptation to the Rooseveltians.

Understand, I don't believe that it would be advisable for important comrades to start such a campaign. But even totally unknown comrades could write such letters. He could write the executive board of the union, asking them what will be the fate of the workers. What kind of a president do we need? At least five months were not utilized. Completely lost. So we should lose two or three months more?

And Browder suddenly becomes an ideal political figure for me! A little false polemics!

How reach a compromise? I ask two or three hundred Stalinist workers. That is the minimum requirement. We can get them by holding their leaders to a class struggle policy. Are you ready to impose this class struggle line on your leader, we ask. Then we will find common grounds.

It is not just to write a manifesto, but to turn our political face to the Stalinist workers. What is bad about that? We begin an action against the Stalinists; what is wrong with that?

I propose a compromise. I will evaluate Browder 50 percent lower than I estimate him now in return for 50 percent more interest from you in the Stalinist party.

*Cannon:* It has many complications.

*Gordon:* On the question of adaptation to Roosevelt's program by our trade union comrades. Is it true? If so, it was nec-

essary for our trade union work. The trade unionists are for Roosevelt. If we want to make headway we have to adapt—by not unfolding our full program—in order to get a foothold for the next stage. We are still at the beginning despite all the work done. That is one thing, but to make it a permanent policy is another thing. We are against that. What is the right time to make the break? Have we exhausted the period of adaptation?

*Cannon:* The failure of the campaign to develop an independent ticket is due to inertia at the center, the faction fight, the tendency to wait in place of energetic application of policies, a feeling of smallness of the party—psychological faults rather than conscious or unconscious adaptation to the Rooseveltians. The bloc in the trade unions is not a political bloc but a bloc over trade union policy. It is possible to have an active policy in opposition. In 1936 we supported the Socialist Party, not Roosevelt, despite the trade unionists giving open support to Roosevelt. The ideal situation would be for Comrade Trotsky to use his influence with the government to change the laws.

*Trotsky:* That is the job of the SWP.

*Cannon:* We should have started a campaign six months ago. During the faction fight there was a congressional campaign. Browder was running. Our policy was that it would be best to have our own candidate. We proposed this, but it was sabotaged by Abern.

But to go out and campaign for Browder, just at the time of war, when we are trying to explain our policy—

*Trotsky:* It is precisely one of the elements of explaining that theirs is a false policy.

*Cannon:* Support for a labor candidate can be justified, but the CP is entirely different. The CP is not a genuine workers' party.

*Dobbs:* We are caught short. The criticisms are very pertinent. They will be productive of better results, you may be certain. But we feel that this policy would be completely disastrous. We would prefer to sacrifice the maneuver for Jimmy Higgins work and put our own candidate on the ballot. It is not a question of Roosevelt. We will do anything short of supporting the Stalinists in order to go against Roosevelt.

*Trotsky:* Good. But why not write a manifesto, addressing them? Give them arguments understandable to them?

But we don't have a candidate. It is now too late to have a candidate. What is your policy?

Good—we will abandon voting for Browder. We will abandon a manifesto. We will make a leaflet. You would agree with a leaflet on the above lines? We can state our differences with the CP: your party accepts the class struggle only on accidental grounds. . . .

And if the Stalinist worker comes up to you and asks, will you vote for our candidate? We are a serious political party, where do you stand? We must give him a serious answer. We must say, yes, we will vote for him.

No party is homogeneous, not even the Stalinist party. We cannot change the party but only introduce a wedge to start some of them moving toward us.

*Cannon:* In 1920, in the first year of the CP in this country, we had a situation similar to this. We were in illegality. A few months before the election and impossible to run our own candidate. We openly boycotted the elections. It was completely ineffective.

Lenin wrote us a letter. He held that we should have voted for Debs. But at that time there was a strong psychological separation from the SP. Lenin's statement produced quite a shock. And Debs was in prison—not a Browder.

*Trotsky:* Yes. Although Browder is condemned to prison.

*Cannon:* There has not been a direct attack or approach to the Stalinists for some years. Could it be possible?

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*Cannon:* The faction fight brought the youth question to the fore. You have seen the correspondence: Held's,<sup>200</sup> a letter of mine. We have about one-third of the youth left. They are now discussing the question of an independent organization. The majority I think are in favor of no independent organization. The central committee has not yet discussed the question. Personally I am inclined that in the next period we don't have an independent organization.

Theoretically the youth should be a broad movement from which the party recruits. For twenty years, however, the youth has been a small shadow of the party, always attracting predominantly students. In a serious faction fight it always be-

comes a colony to be exploited. The real youth don't join. They don't want to be considered YPSLs.<sup>201</sup> They join the unions. If they are serious politicians, they join the party. There is just a certain special type which clings to the youth. There is something artificial about it. We had a good experiment with the youth movement in the SP. Abnormal conditions were associated with it. They had a high age limit—twenty-five years and then thirty years. It was a kind of rival party. When we won it, we won a thousand or more people over twenty-one. They had a tradition of struggle against the party. A tradition of "vanguardism."

Gould, the leader of the youth, first defended the party, then adopted the prejudices against the party.<sup>202</sup>

Shall we attempt to recreate this movement or consider it past? Shall we have a formally independent organization for the youth, take them into the party, or form student clubs? It would probably be more honest to call them student clubs. Shall we organize our comrades in school into Marxist clubs, do away with the fiction of organizational equality to the party? Personally I am of this viewpoint, not to recreate the youth as a separate organization.

I would like to hear the pre-war experience of the Bolsheviks in this respect.

*Trotsky:* It is difficult to make an analogy. Then it was the time of the ascension of capital. Industry lacked workers. There was an influx from the villages. There was a brusque change in the situation. The youth from the village was disoriented. The party got him almost immediately. He broke sharply from his family, his church, the village. He became almost immediately a party man. The underground movement was a political movement. It was not possible to create dancing clubs. Europe likewise has no analogy. The pre-war period was one of party conservatism. Karl Liebknecht directed the youth movement against the party. It was not very strong. It acted as a substitute for a left wing to the party.

The situation is now fundamentally different economically. The youth are doomed. There are no jobs. Why do we have only students and not workers? The students are theoretically disoriented. In place of eternal prosperity they see only bankruptcy. The youth are seeking formulas to get out of this situation. The working class youth is atomized. It is not accustomed to generalizations, hence it is difficult to win them to the trade unions or the political fields. This is the difficulty. As to relations between the youth and the party, I abstain

from any predictions. This is a time of abrupt changes. Predictions in this field are difficult. Possibly at this stage it is not reasonable to have a separate youth organization. At first I was absolutely opposed to Held, but now I have reconsidered. This concrete period and stage doesn't open up serious possibilities for a separate organization.

The question is how penetrate the youth organized by the capitalist state? It is a new question. I would not be surprised if tomorrow you found yourselves compelled to create a special organization for this, that is, a special organization for the youth and those organized into the military forces. We should create a special commission to study this. It will develop at a feverish rate. Such an organization can become as important as the trade unions. You will have organizations with millions of members. Many will begin their education in the army. Many were never in the trade unions. Here they will receive their education in collective action.

We can't invent forms, but we can investigate. This can be transformed by and by into a separate organization. It would be a terrible crime to lose time in this. We must initiate this immediately. We must see all the possibilities. If we have initiative we can have a tremendous success. Not a special youth organization but the beginning of a special organization in the military field.

*Dobbs:* We must go through an experimental stage. We have no blueprint. The militarization of the youth is an entirely new problem. The youth are agreed that they shouldn't have a separate organization at the present. We have used them in the past as a recruiting ground for the party; those not in industry were placed in contact wherever possible with broader layers of youth. But in Minneapolis only a party decision could make them take membership in the YPSL.

*Hansen:* I think that Weiss is not in agreement with the other comrades leading the youth.<sup>203</sup> If I understand it correctly, his position is that while in the immediate period it may not be feasible to have a separate youth organization, we must prepare for one in the future; that the possibilities of a separate youth organization are by no means exhausted.

*Dobbs:* With the militarization of the youth proceeding along with the militarization of the trade unions, big possibilities will open up for us. In the CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps] camps organization was extremely difficult. The CCC is looked

upon by the youth as a makeshift. But with the youth in real military organizations, the possibilities are tremendous.

June 15, 1940

*Hansen:* Yesterday Comrade Trotsky made some remarks about our adaptation to the so-called progressives in the trade unions, he mentioned the line of the *Northwest Organizer* and also our attitude in connection with the elections and the Stalinists. I wish to point out that this is not something completely new on Comrade Trotsky's part. More than two years ago during the discussions over the transitional program, he discussed exactly these same points and had exactly the same position, with due regard for the difference in time and that then it was not the elections but the farmer-labor party that was to the fore.<sup>204</sup>

Comrade Trotsky has also written some letters regarding the Stalinists and the need for a more positive line toward them. In the past faction fight too, Comrade Trotsky mentioned in his polemic "From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene" the following point, which he underlined: "More than once the party will have to remind its own trade unionists that a *pedagogical adaptation to the more backward layers of the proletariat must not become transformed into a political adaptation to the conservative bureaucracy of the trade unions.*" I am wondering if Comrade Trotsky considers that our party is displaying a conservative tendency in the sense that we are adapting ourselves politically to the trade union bureaucracy.

*Trotsky:* To a certain degree I believe it is so. I cannot observe closely enough to be completely certain. This phase is not reflected in the *Socialist Appeal* well enough. There is no internal bulletin for the trade unionists. It would be very good to have such a bulletin and to publish controversial articles on our trade union work. In observing the *Northwest Organizer* I have observed not the slightest change during a whole period. It remains apolitical. This is a dangerous symptom. The complete neglect of work in relation to the Stalinist party is another dangerous symptom.

Turning to the Stalinists does not mean that we should turn away from the progressives. It means only that we should tell the truth to the Stalinists, that we should catch the Stalinists beforehand in their new turn.

It seems to me that a kind of passive adaptation to our trade union work can be recognized. There is not an immediate

danger, but a serious warning indicating a change in direction is necessary. Many comrades are more interested in trade union work than in party work. More party cohesion is needed, more sharp maneuvering, a more serious systematic theoretical training; otherwise the trade unions can absorb our comrades.

It is a historic law that the trade union functionaries form the right wing of the party. There is no exception to this. It was true of the Social Democracy; it was true of the Bolsheviks too. Tomsky was with the right wing, you know.<sup>205</sup> This is absolutely natural. They deal with the class, the backward elements; they are the party vanguard in the working class. The necessary field of adaptation is among the trade unions. The people who have this adaptation as their job are those in the trade unions. That is why the pressure of the backward elements is always reflected through the trade union comrades. It is a healthy pressure; but it can also break them from the historic class interests—they can become opportunists.

The party has made serious gains. These gains were possible only through a certain degree of adaptation; but on the other hand we must take measures to circumvent dangers that are inevitable. I have noticed only some serious symptoms which indicate the need for more cohesion, more emphasis on the party. Our comrades must be in the first line party members, and only in the second line trade union members. This is especially true for trade union functionaries and editors. . . .

Before we go on—I have just received the latest number of *Labor Action*.<sup>206</sup> Shachtman is calling for a new slogan: "Let's have a program for peace not war." But it is war not peace. This is a pacifist tendency. It is no program for war which is inevitable.

*Cannon:* Can the Stalinists be regarded in any important sense as different from any other labor party or grouping? Are tactics applicable to the socialists, etc., also applicable to them? There is a strong tendency to regard the Stalinists as different. Not as a labor tendency. The crassest expression of this tendency is exhibited in the American Labor Party in New York.<sup>207</sup> They regard the Stalinists not as a working class party but as an agency of a foreign power. This was the position of Lovestone and Hook on the Browder passport case.<sup>208</sup> It was Burnham's position in the central committee.

We held for critical defense. If Oneal for example were arrested we would defend him similarly.<sup>209</sup> There is no fundamental difference between Oneal of the Second International and Browder as representative of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Both are treacherous in the labor movement. Burnham held that the Stalinists are not a labor movement at all. That they are like the German Nazis. We should defend neither. This point is important in elaborating our general political tactics. So long as the Social Democrats represent a force we must have not only direct opposition but a policy of maneuver. Can any fundamental distinction be made between them and Lewis, Green, etc.? In my opinion we at least subjectively have made a distinction. We have not had a policy of maneuver since 1934, neither nationally nor internationally. In general should we not reexamine this again? Your proposal raises this drastically.

*Trotsky:* Of course the Stalinists are a legitimate part of the workers' movement. That it is abused by its leaders for specific GPU ends is one thing, for Kremlin ends another. It is not at all different from other opposition labor bureaucracies. The powerful interests of Moscow influence the Third International, but it is not different in principle. Of course we consider the terror of the GPU control differently; we fight with all means, even bourgeois police. But the political current of Stalinism is a current in the workers' movement. If it differs, it differs advantageously.

In France the Stalinists show courage against the government. They are still inspired by October. They are a selection of revolutionary elements, abused by Moscow, but honest. If they are persecuted in the United States and remain anti-patriotic because Moscow delays its new turn, this would give them considerable political authority. Our revulsion from the Kremlin will not destroy this political authority. We must consider them objectively. We must consider them from the objective Marxist viewpoint. They are a very contradictory phenomenon. They began with October as the base, they have become deformed, but they have great courage.

We can't let the antipathies of our moral feelings sway us. Even the assailants on Trotsky's house had great courage. I think that we can hope to win these workers who began as a crystallization of October. We see them negatively; how to break through this obstacle. We must set the base against the top. The Moscow gang we consider gangsters but the rank and file don't feel themselves to be gangsters, but revolutionists. They have been terribly poisoned. If we show that we understand, that we have a common language, we can turn them against their leaders. If we win five percent, the party will be doomed. They can then lead only a conservative exis-

tence. Disintegration will set in, because this five percent connects them with new sources from the masses.

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*Dobbs:* I was discussing the question of racial minorities in the United States, and particularly the Negro question with Dunne. The problem was to find a proper basis of approach. Dunne suggested that a column in the *Appeal* headed "Negro Question" raises in the mind of the colored person our considering him as a special problem. We have other racial minorities, the Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese. He suggested that we change the name to Racial Minorities Department and change the column in the *Appeal* likewise. That we make a more conscious effort to involve him as a worker with common problems—with special problems too, it is true; that we advise the *Fourth International* to take up a series of articles on the various racial minority problems on a broader basis, with special emphasis on the Negro problem because of its size.

*Trotsky:* Have we had any success with the Negroes?

*Dobbs:* Some success, especially since Birchman took over.<sup>210</sup> We have been trying to link up the Negro Department with the Trade Union Department. In the musicians' union we got a clear cut report of a situation where they have separate Negro locals, continuing to discriminate against the Negro. Such things give us a tangible connection also for following up. We have had considerable reaction from Negroes that we are doing this for philanthropy and not out of class solidarity. We have set up a committee with one PC member and two Negroes.

*Konikow:* In Boston we tried to reach the Negroes through helping them in agitation on the lynch law. The Stalinists demanded that our comrade be thrown out, but the organization refused.

*Gordon:* It is not possible to put the Negroes in one category as a special problem. They are unique. They have their own problems, which are much bigger than the general problems of the racial minorities. We have been making headway but haven't yet begun to scratch the surface. In all Harlem we don't have one comrade. But in order to do this work we need Negroes. It seems to me that we have to devise some

drastic measures to get into this work. Harlem is the biggest proletarian center in New York.

We have a problem too with the Jewish minority. We attempted once to put out a Yiddish organ but had to give it up. As a party we do nothing about this problem. The Jewish movement is going through a hectic development. It is now social patriotic out of utter despair. It would be a good thing to place on our agenda for lengthy discussion and definition. To determine a perspective. A program of activity regarding both the Jews and the Negroes.

*Konikow:* The name of the column should be changed. "Negroes" is not very attractive. Perhaps the name should be "Negro Workers."

*Trotsky:* How is the racial minority question resolved by the different unions? Aren't they international unions?

*Cannon:* They exist in Canada. This makes them international.

*Trotsky:* Some unions have special groupings? Educational groupings?

*Dobbs:* Some unions discriminate less. But there is no real progress.

*Trotsky:* Do they have publications in different languages?

*Dobbs:* In the needle trades they do and they have locals organized according to language.

*Trotsky:* What ones?

*Dobbs:* Italians, Greeks, Jews. But they are different in this respect from most unions.

*Trotsky:* Do the teamsters have any influence among other nationalities?

*Dobbs:* Only English. In the last few years there has been a rather sharp turn toward the Negroes. Formerly they were discriminated against. Now in a number of unions they can join in the South. In Dallas sixty whites and twenty Negroes went on strike. The Negroes always sat separated. They never

spoke until the whites were through and when they were asked. That was at the beginning. On the picket line they showed great courage, even better than the whites. There were company owned houses in which they lived. The company demanded that they pay up their back rent or get out. They were evicted from two houses. The next day the two houses were in ashes. At the end of the strike the Negroes felt more that they had the right to speak.

*Trotsky:* Why wasn't this reported in the *Appeal*? It is very important. It would make the best kind of column on the Negroes.

The racial minorities question is not equitable. The most important and most common mean is a publication in the language of the minority in question. The education of the workers is hindered by differences in language. Even the most centralized party must find the means of communicating to different nationalities. The party is never a total of nation organizations. It is not a federation of national groupings and every worker is a member of a common organization. Channels must be created for the expression of these workers. This is true of the Mexican workers, Chinese, Jews, Polish, etc., but the Negroes have nothing to do with language. It is a social question determined by their skin. But it is not necessary to create a new paper; that is why it is not on the same level. That is why it is a different kind of means is not needed.

*Dobbs:* But these same social discriminations affect the Chinese, etc.

*Trotsky:* Through what is common, but it is not necessary to create special language papers for them. I believe that it should be explained in articles how we approach these minorities. And to have special approaches for the Mexicans, etc., but most important of course are the Negroes. Should we change the name to one more general? I am not ready to say. Is it the content that is philanthropic? We should exaggerate in favor of the Negroes. The white slaveholders accustom the Negroes not to speak first. But on the picket line they show more courage. That is true of all oppressed nationalities. We must approach them everywhere by advocating that for every lynching they should lynch ten or twenty lynchers.

We should pay more attention to the Latin American workers in relation to American imperialism. We should turn in the

direction of Latin America. American imperialism is already turning in that direction.

\* \* \*

*Cannon:* The fundamental question of party organization was dealt with in the faction fight. The discussion posed the question: the nature of our epoch is military; the only serious party is one which aims at power. We have had a double hangover in our party from the past. One, the socialists never dreamed of changing society. They wanted to make protests, but actually a party to change society over was never in their bones. Their concept was a flabby one, Christian socialism. People from the Social Democracy who came to our party had these concepts. Two, our party the world over suffered from over-correction of Stalinist bureaucratism, all the more so due to the petty bourgeois. They were afraid more than anything else of being disciplined. They don't want a regime with firmness or discipline. This was a tendency of Burnham and Shachtman. For eleven years we had a see-saw, half the time for Lenin's conceptions, half the time for the other extreme. When it became serious all we got was a forty-fifty percent compromise. In this fight we had a strong impulse from the rank and file for more discipline, a more serious party. We must devote more time to the concept of the party that flows from the military age. A mish-mash party is good for nothing. To have this idea assimilated into the very bones of the members.

I think that the party in the eyes of the leading militants should be considered as a military organization. The party forms should be much more considerably formalized in a deliberate form of hierarchical organization. A strict record of grades of authority in the party. All these things must be deliberately inculcated to build a party able to struggle for power in this epoch. If this is correct we have an opportunity to build it now. One, because there is a real impulse for it from the rank and file. They feel that there is not enough discipline, not enough firmness.

In the leadership now there is no serious conflict on this conception, a far more serious advance for joint collaboration. No opportunity for weak and faltering elements to capitalize on differences. Formerly this was bad, especially in New York. That was the damnable role of Abern and Shachtman, to pacify the weaklings. Now there is no possibility for that, not in the next period.

In my polemics against Burnham<sup>211</sup> I amplified the idea of

a professional leadership—no part-time dilettantism and trying to play with the party. I believe of course that in this question of being a full time party worker it depends on funds. But the idea that a party militant should be ready to work for the party—this idea should be universal. Do away with the toleration for amateur leadership.

*Trotsky:* Before I forget—the party should elaborate a kind of platform for the Jewish question, a balance on the whole experience of Zionism with the simple conclusion that the Jewish people cannot save themselves except by socialist revolution. I believe that we could have an important influence in New York among the garment workers.

*Gordon:* What tactical approach would you suggest?

*Trotsky:* That is another thing. I am not informed very well about that phase. The first thing is to give them a perspective, criticize all the past, the democratic tendency, etc. To pose for them that the socialist revolution is the only realistic solution of the Jewish question. If the Jewish workers and peasants asked for an independent state, good—but they didn't get it under Great Britain. But if they want it, the proletariat will give it. We are not in favor, but only the victorious working class can give it to them.

I believe that it is of tremendous importance what Cannon wrote one time, to create a patriotism toward the party, that if mature revolutionists disagree, but also understand the historic value of the party, then they can have a very sharp discussion but can be sure the base is common, that the minority will submit to the majority. Such a feeling cannot be produced artificially, but of course a propaganda expressing the importance of the party in this epoch can make the members proud of their membership. What is miserable about the petty bourgeois is their light-minded attitude toward the party. They don't understand what a party is.

At the same time it is necessary to create an elastic relationship between democracy and centralism. We have enough hundreds of members who have passed through enough experiences who now require more centralized organization. These people in another ten years will be the old guard. These cadres in a new phase can give the possibility of some hundreds of thousands of members of different origin. These people can introduce new tendencies of criticism. To assimilate them it

can't be done by centralism. It is necessary to enlarge the democracy, to let them find that the old guard is more experienced. So after a period of very centralized existence, you can have a new period of wide discussion, then a more normalized centralized period.

Our growth will be a convulsive growth. It can introduce into its ranks some half-raw human material. It is a tremendous advantage to have the support of the cadres. They will explain to the new comrades. At the same time it is dangerous to impose centralism too soon on new members who don't have this tradition of esteem for the leadership which is based by and large on experiences of the past. This also maintains the party's equilibrium.

This also was one of the finest qualities of Lenin's leadership: from iron discipline to apparent complete freedom of the ranks. Actually he never lost control, but the average member felt perfectly free. In this way he laid the basis for a new centralism. This gave him the possibility to pass through a severe war. During a severe war the party relations indicated a severe and military organization. In spite of all the party equilibrium was preserved. Even at the front we had closed party meetings, where all party members discussed with complete freedom, criticized orders, etc. But when we left the room, the orders became a strict discipline, for the breaking of which a commander could shoot. We were able to carry out very complicated maneuvers. At the beginning when the army was almost all communists from the pre-revolutionary period, especially with relationships already stabilized, it was easy. But when more than five million joined, the majority were fresh elements without tradition and in the army they learned the discipline in its more severe form. There were protests of dissatisfaction which were utilized then by Stalin against Trotsky. It was necessary for some time to give these elements free rein and then by convincing them to create a new basis for more severe military regime. Tsaritsyn played a role in this, Stalin, Voroshilov, Timoshenko.<sup>212</sup> They based themselves on these elements. They were guerrilla fighters, like Shachtman in his politics. In the Finnish war it was the proof of the old Tsaritsyn group [that] Stalin didn't appear at the front—absolutely incomprehensible. Of course he had his GPU to take care of in the Kremlin. Voroshilov is dismissed, the last of the Tsaritsyn opposition.

*Dobbs:* We worked out something like that in Minneapolis

on the picket line. Full discussion, then work under severe discipline.<sup>213</sup>

*Trotsky:* Yes, it is a psychological thing, to devote enough time to convince them that the heads carry out these things in the interests of the party and not for their personal interests. Then it is the most important moral capital of the party.

*Konikow:* Wouldn't it be helped by an internal bulletin?

*Cannon:* Yes, yes.

*Gordon:* How do you conceive the party life for the coming period? Can we afford conventions, plenums, etc.?

*Trotsky:* It depends on objective conditions of the war. It is possible they will begin to persecute you in the next period. Then centralism becomes absolute. The central committee must have the right to co-opt new members without a convention. In case of police arrests. To support by these means the cohesion of the party. Confidence is possible only by good policy and courage. It would be very important proof and very serious selection. The real centralism which will form a precious capital of ultimate party life. When a convention is not possible, we have the possibility of informing the best cadres, the best elements, who then defend the policy in the local organizations so as not to take the party by surprise. It depends often on twenty-four hours time to explain. Then we can begin the action. Otherwise they can be dissatisfied, the party can be disrupted in a short time.

## THE KREMLIN'S ROLE IN THE EUROPEAN CATASTROPHE<sup>214</sup>

June 17, 1940

The capitulation of France is not a simple military episode. It is part of the catastrophe of Europe. Mankind can no longer live under the regime of imperialism. Hitler is not an accident; he is only the most consistent and the most bestial expression of imperialism, which threatens to crush our whole civilization.

But in line with the general causes of the catastrophe inherent in imperialism, it is impermissible to forget the criminal, sinister role played by the Kremlin and the Comintern. Nobody else rendered such support to Hitler as Stalin. Nobody else created such a dangerous situation for the USSR as Stalin.

During a period of five years the Kremlin and its Comintern propagandized for an "alliance of democracies" and "People's Fronts" with the aim of preventive war against "fascist aggressors." This propaganda, as witnessed most strikingly in the example of France, had a tremendous influence upon the popular masses. But when war really approached, the Kremlin and its agency, the Comintern, jumped unexpectedly into the camp of the "fascist aggressors." Stalin with his horse-trader mentality sought in this way to cheat Chamberlain, Daladier, Roosevelt, and to gain strategic positions in Poland and the Baltic countries.

But the Kremlin's jump had immeasurably greater consequences: not only did it cheat the governments, but it disoriented and demoralized the popular masses in the first place in the so-called democracies. With its propaganda of "People's Fronts" the Kremlin hindered the masses from conducting the fight against the imperialist war. With his shift to Hitler's side Stalin abruptly mixed up all the cards and paralyzed the military power of the "democracies." In spite of all the machines of destruction, the moral factor retains decisive importance in the war. By demoralizing the popular masses in Europe, and not solely in Europe, Stalin played the role of an agent provocateur.

teur in the service of Hitler. The capitulation of France is one of the results of such politics.

But it is by no means the only result. In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries, is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the West are only preparation for a gigantic move toward the East. In the attack on Finland, the Red Army, decapitated and demoralized again by Stalin, demonstrated its weakness before the whole world. In his coming march against the USSR, Hitler will find support in Japan.

The agents of the Kremlin begin to speak once more about the alliance of the democracies against the fascist aggressors. It is possible that as the cheated cheater, Stalin will be forced to make a new turn in his foreign politics. But woe to the peoples if they again trust the dishonest agents of the Kremlin's chief! Stalin helped convert Europe into bloody chaos and took the USSR to the very brink of the abyss. The peoples of the USSR now cannot help but feel the greatest anxiety. . . . Only the overthrow of the Moscow totalitarian clique, only the regeneration of Soviet democracy can unleash the forces of the Soviet peoples for the fight against the inevitable and fast-approaching blow from imperialist Germany. Hence Soviet patriotism is inseparable from irreconcilable struggle against the Stalinist clique.

## REPTILE BREED OF THE "NATION"<sup>215</sup>

June 18, 1940

I see that the *Nation*, which besmirched itself through its attitude in regard to the Moscow judicial frame-ups,<sup>216</sup> has hurried again this time to support the fantastic and stupid versions of the GPU in connection with the attack of May 24. Everyone it seems is guilty, General Almazan, the "reaction," possibly Trotsky himself—but by no means Stalin.

Meanwhile the Mexican police have uncovered the assailants. They are—by accident—agents of Stalin. . . .

What an infamous reptile breed these radicals of the *Nation*! But they will not escape their punishment: we shall teach the American workers to appreciate them as they deserve—to despise them.

L. Trotsky

Who is the author of the *Nation's* article on the attack upon Leon Trotsky? Harry Block is a citizen of the United States. His wife is Malu Cabrera, daughter of the Licenciado Luis Cabrera, a very rich and very reactionary lawyer retained by the oil companies and landlords of Yucatan. At the same time, Harry Block is a close collaborator of Lombardo Toledano, the notorious political agent of the GPU in Mexico. Harry Block is the managing editor of *Futuro*, the foul, slanderous monthly of Lombardo Toledano. He is also the head of the publishing department of the Stalinist Workers University. Under the orders of the CTM he publishes a special weekly bulletin, *Mexican Labor News*, distributed free in the United States.

In the inner staff of Lombardo Toledano the "authority" of Harry Block is based upon the fact that he is considered the agent of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in relations with the CTM. The head of the Soviet agency in Washington is Oumansky, who made his diplomatic career as an agent of the GPU. Consequently Harry Block is the confidential go-between for two agents of the GPU, Oumansky and Lombardo Toledano. No wonder that Harry Block defended the dirty theory of "self-assault" in the pages of such a prostituted magazine as the *Nation*.

Meantime, the majority of the assailants have been apprehended. All are members of the Communist Party and agents of the GPU. They are the colleagues of Oumansky, Lombardo Toledano, and Harry Block. It will be interesting to learn the reaction of the *Nation's* editorial board now.

## **GPU TRIED TO COVER MURDER WITH SLANDER<sup>217</sup>**

**June 25, 1940**

The body of Bob Sheldon Harte proves in a tragic manner the falsity of all the calumnies and denunciations leveled against him. The police authorities, who were obligated not to refuse to take this suspicion seriously, have revealed exceptional energy in this matter also.

The GPU is not a simple band of gangsters—it is an international selection of trained agents with a long background of crimes, armed with unlimited technical and economic resources. According to the lowest calculations, the technical preparation alone for the assault in Mexico, leaving aside bribes and the costs in other countries, amounted to not less than \$10,000.

The solving of the crimes of the GPU, because of this, presents tremendous difficulties. In no other country of the world, not in France, not in Switzerland, not in Spain, have any of the crimes of the GPU been brought to light with such thoroughness as is being done before us with this one, the assault of May 24 in Mexico. The body of Bob Sheldon in all certainty will shed a supplementary light on all the devices of this complicated conspiracy.

In two of its announcements, the Central Committee of the "Communist" Party has repeated that the participation of Sheldon casts a "suspicious" light on the assault. In reality the penetration of an agent of Stalin into my household could have indicated solely that the GPU had succeeded in deceiving my friends in New York, who recommended Bob Sheldon to me. Every informed person knows that the GPU floods its agents into all the workers' organizations and state institutions throughout the world. For this it spends annually tens of millions of dollars. But the version that Sheldon was an agent of the GPU is completely crushed. His body is a convincing argument. Bob perished because he placed himself in

the road of the assassins. He died for the ideas in which he believed. His memory is spotless.

*Qui prodest?* asks the old and wise maxim of Roman law. Who is interested in slandering Bob Harte and leading the investigation astray? The answer is clear: the GPU and its agents. The discovery of the source of the false declarations in reference to Bob will certainly reveal one of the staffs in the plot.

Bob is not the first of those close to me who has fallen at the hands of the mercenary assassins of Stalin. I leave aside the members of my family, two daughters and two sons brought to their death by the GPU. I do not speak of the thousands of my partisans exposed to physical extermination in the USSR and other countries. I limit myself solely to my secretaries in various countries who have been led to suicide by persecution, who have been shot or assassinated by the agents of the GPU—seven persons: M. Glazman, G. Butov, J. Blumkin, N. Sermuks, I. Poznansky, R. Klement, E. Wolf.<sup>218</sup> In this list Robert (Bob) Sheldon Harte occupies the eighth, but I fear not the last place.

After this, the political agents of the GPU can speak of my "persecution mania."



Robert Sheldon Harte.

## TELEGRAM TO MR. HARTE<sup>219</sup>

June 25, 1940

My wife, my collaborators, I, bow in deep mourning before the grief of the mother and father of our dear Bob. Only consolation in these bitter hours is that the wild slander against Bob through which the assassins tried to conceal the assassination is now unmasked. As a hero, Bob perished for ideas he believed in.

Natalia and Leon Trotsky, Joe Hansen, Harold Robins, Charles Cornell, Jake Cooper, Otto Schuessler, Walter O'Rourke.

## **WE DO NOT CHANGE OUR COURSE<sup>220</sup>**

**June 30, 1940**

In the wake of a number of other and smaller European states, France is being transformed into an oppressed nation. German imperialism has risen to unprecedented military heights, with all the ensuing opportunities for world plunder. What then follows?

From the side of all sorts of semi-internationalists one may expect approximately the following line of argumentation: Successful uprisings in conquered countries, under the Nazi heel, are impossible, because every revolutionary movement will be immediately drowned in blood by the conquerors. There is even less reason to expect a successful uprising in the camp of the totalitarian victors. Favorable conditions for revolution could be created only by the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini. Therefore, nothing remains except to aid England and the United States. Should the Soviet Union join us it would be possible not only to halt Germany's military successes but to deal her heavy military and economic defeats. The further development of the revolution is possible only on this road. And so forth and so on.

This argumentation which appears on the surface to be inspired by the new map of Europe is in reality only an adaptation to the new map of Europe of the old arguments of social patriotism, i.e., class betrayal. Hitler's victory over France has revealed completely the corruption of imperialist democracy, even in the sphere of its own tasks. It cannot be "saved" from fascism. It can only be replaced by proletarian democracy. Should the working class tie up its fate in the present war with the fate of imperialist democracy, it would only assure itself a new series of defeats.

"For victory's sake" England has already found herself obliged to introduce the methods of dictatorship, the primary prerequisite for which was the renunciation by the Labour

Party of any political independence whatsoever. If the international proletariat, in the form of all its organizations and tendencies, were to take to the same road, then this would only facilitate and hasten the victory of the totalitarian regime on a world scale. Under the conditions of the world proletariat renouncing independent politics, an alliance between the USSR and the imperialist democracies would signify the growth of the omnipotence of the Moscow bureaucracy, its further transformation into an agency of imperialism, and its inevitably making concessions to imperialism in the economic sphere. In all likelihood the military position of the various imperialist countries on the world arena would be greatly changed thereby; but the position of the world proletariat, from the standpoint of the tasks of the socialist revolution, would be changed very little.

In order to create a revolutionary situation, say the sophists of social patriotism, it is necessary to deal Hitler a blow. To gain a victory over Hitler, it is necessary to support the imperialist democracies. But if for the sake of saving the "democracies" the proletariat renounces independent revolutionary politics, just who would utilize a revolutionary situation arising from Hitler's defeat? There has been no lack of revolutionary situations in the last quarter of a century. But there has been lacking a revolutionary party capable of utilizing a revolutionary situation. To renounce the training of a revolutionary party for the sake of provoking a "revolutionary situation" is to lead the workers blindfolded to a massacre.

From the standpoint of a revolution in one's own country the defeat of one's own imperialist government is undoubtedly a "lesser evil." Pseudo-internationalists, however, refuse to apply this principle in relation to the defeated democratic countries. In return, they interpret Hitler's victory not as a relative but as an absolute obstacle in the way of a revolution in Germany. They lie in both instances.

In the defeated countries the position of the masses will immediately become worsened in the extreme. Added to social oppression is national oppression, the main burden of which is likewise borne by the workers. Of all the forms of dictatorship, the totalitarian dictatorship of a foreign conqueror is the most intolerable. At the same time, to the extent that the Nazis will try to utilize the natural resources and the industrial machinery of the nations defeated by them, the Nazis will themselves become inevitably dependent upon the native peasants and workers. Only after the victory do economic

difficulties always begin. It is impossible to attach a soldier with a rifle to each Polish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Belgian, French worker and peasant. National Socialism is without any prescription for transforming defeated peoples from foes into friends.

The experience of the Germans in the Ukraine in 1918 has demonstrated how difficult it is to utilize through military methods the natural wealth and labor power of a defeated people; and how swiftly an army of occupation is demoralized in an atmosphere of universal hostility. These very same processes will develop on a far vaster scale in the European continent under Nazi occupation. One can expect with assurance the rapid transformation of all the conquered countries into powder magazines. The danger is rather this, that the explosions may occur too soon without sufficient preparation and lead to isolated defeats. It is in general impossible, however, to speak of the European and the world revolution without taking into account partial defeats.

Hitler, the conqueror, naturally has daydreams of becoming the chief executioner of the proletarian revolution in any part of Europe. But this does not at all mean that Hitler will be strong enough to deal with the proletarian revolution as he has been able to deal with imperialist democracy. It would be a fatal blunder, unworthy of a revolutionary party, to turn Hitler into a fetish, to exaggerate his power, to overlook the objective limits of his successes and conquests. True enough, Hitler boastfully promises to establish the domination of the German people at the expense of all Europe and even of the whole world "for one thousand years." But in all likelihood this splendor will not endure even for ten years.

We must learn from the lessons of the recent past. Twenty-two years ago not only the defeated countries but also the victors emerged from the war with their economic life disrupted and were able to realize very slowly, to the extent that they realized at all, the economic advantages accruing from victory. Therefore the revolutionary movement assumed very great proportions in the countries of the victorious Entente as well. The only thing lacking was a revolutionary party capable of heading the movement.

The total, i.e., all-embracing character of the present war excludes the possibility of direct "enrichment" at the expense of the defeated countries. Even in the event of a complete victory over England, Germany in order to maintain her conquests would be compelled in the next few years to assume

such economic sacrifices as would far outweigh those advantages which it might draw directly from her victories. The living conditions of the German masses must in any case worsen considerably in the next period. Million upon million of victorious soldiers will find on returning to their homeland an even more poverty-stricken home than the one from which they had been torn away by the war. A victory that lowers the living standard of the people does not strengthen a regime but weakens it. The self-confidence of the demobilized soldiers who had scored the greatest victories will have been raised in the extreme. Their betrayed hopes will turn into sharp dissatisfaction and embitterment. On the other hand, the Brown Shirted caste will rise even higher above the people; its arbitrary rule and profligacy will provoke ever greater hostility.

If in the last decade the political pendulum in Germany has, as a result of the impotence of belated democracy and the betrayal of labor parties, swung sharply to the right, then, as a result of disillusion in the consequences of the war and of the Nazi regime, the pendulum will now swing even more sharply and decisively to the left. Dissatisfaction, alarm, protests, strikes, armed clashes will again be on the order of the day for Germany. Hitler will have too many worries in Berlin to be able successfully to fulfill the role of executioner in Paris, Brussels, or London.

Consequently the task of the revolutionary proletariat does not consist of helping the imperialist armies create a "revolutionary situation" but of preparing, fusing, and tempering its international ranks for revolutionary situations of which there will be no lack.

The new war map of Europe does not invalidate the principles of revolutionary class struggle. The Fourth International does not change its course.

## AVUNCULAR ADVICE<sup>221</sup>

July 1, 1940

Dear Nephews:

I received your letters of the 25th of May on time, but I didn't understand from them the practical purpose of your message to me. It could be understood that you wish to be reconciled with your father and the whole family. Of course I would be glad to serve as an intermediary in such a case. But you must understand that after my previous attempts which ended so lamentably by your fault, I am ten times more cautious than before. Unfortunately your letter doesn't dissipate my doubts. You say that everybody made his conclusions from the experiences, that these experiences are possibly not the same for all but nothing can hinder all from coming to the same conclusions in the future. It is extremely vague. The family of your father has its traditions, its rules of conduct, and is proud of these traditions and rules. I don't believe your father would be ready to change his conceptions and methods as a price for reconciliation with you. Every member of the family has the right to propose, to express his ideas, and to defend them. Your parents are tolerant enough, but if you wish to live and to act with the family you must be loyal to it, especially now, in the tragic times we live in. If you made *this* conclusion from the past, seriously and definitely, then a sincere reconciliation wouldn't present any difficulties, and I would be glad to enter into direct conversations with your father about the matter; but only under these conditions. I hope you will believe that acting so, I am guided exclusively by your interests and those of our family as a whole.

With best wishes,  
Your uncle Leon

## PAVON FLORES, THE GPU'S ATTORNEY<sup>222</sup>

July 3, 1940

Both at the time of my testimony before the court, on July 2, and at the judicial inspection in my house, on the 19th of last month, the defense attorneys of David Serrano, Mateo Martinez,<sup>223</sup> and others tried to suggest that my archives were not found in the room where the bombs were thrown, nor anywhere else in the house.

Mr. Pavon Flores and his colleague are defending individuals who claim that they had no part in the attack. From this vantage point, the question of the archives would seem irrelevant. Nonetheless, Mr. Pavon Flores and his colleague make repeated attempts to show that there was no interest in destroying the archives on anyone's part.

Why do the defense attorneys attribute such decisive importance to this question? The assailants murdered Robert Harte, intended to kill me, my wife, my grandson, tied up the police, etc.; these crimes are infinitely more important than the intent to destroy a particular collection of documents. Why then this particular interest in a secondary question? Mr. Pavon Flores's interest in my archives is explained simply by the fact that the attempt to burn them represents a very important, though not the only, proof against Stalin. No organization in the world can have a greater interest in destroying my archives than the GPU. The GPU revealed its interest in them when it overcame great technical difficulties to rob eighty-five kilograms of my archives in Paris on November 7, 1936. My archives enabled the International Commission presided over by Dr. John Dewey to uncover the judicial frauds of the Moscow trials, and continue serving as a means of uncovering Stalin's crimes.

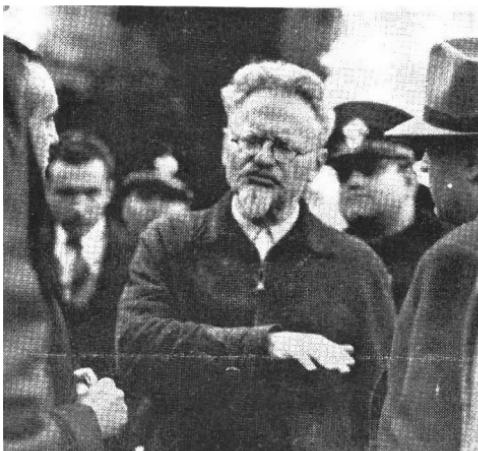
If Mr. Flores had acknowledged the evidence that the attack was organized by the GPU, it would lessen the case against those he defends, since the potent arm of the Soviet state has unlimited resources available to break the will of the (tem-

porary) members of the Comintern and subjugate them totally to its criminal ends. On the contrary, Mr. Pavon Flores is interested not in the fate of those he is defending, but rather in an undertaking of the GPU and in Stalin's reputation. Denying the obvious directing role of the GPU in the May 24 attack, Mr. Flores is actually endangering those accused. Serving and defending Stalin, Mr. Flores feels himself obliged to slander Stalin's adversaries. Only his moral and political dependence on the GPU explains his role in the proceedings, his disgraceful accusations, and his gross attacks on me.

In my testimony of the 17th, I indicated that it is not by chance that Mr. Flores is part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, elected to that body two months before the attack, for the purpose of intensifying the struggle against Trotsky and Trotskyism. During the course of the inquiry, he corrected me, saying that he had *first* been elected a member of the Central Committee, not at the last congress last March, but a year before. The correction does not fundamentally change my conclusions; rather it strengthens them. During 1939, Mr. Flores worked quietly and docilely under the direction of Laborde, on whom he heaped praise. When the GPU, with its sights fixed on the planned attack, felt it essential to revise the composition of the Central Committee, Mr. Flores, who suddenly discovered a "traitor" and an "enemy of the people" in his boss of yesterday, was approved by the GPU and, as a result, was included in the new Central Committee. Mr. Flores interprets loyalty to the "master"—meaning to the GPU—as revolutionary "loyalty." Mr. Flores interprets "treason" as disobedience to the GPU, and as struggle against its crimes. It isn't surprising that he calls me a "traitor" in my own house.

In his celebrated Testament, Lenin cited two essential aspects of Stalin's personality: rudeness and disloyalty. These are now the traits of an entire school. The rudeness was transformed to insolence, the disloyalty to treachery. In his capacity as a disciple of this school, Mr. Flores represents a type completely opposite from that of a revolutionary.

I realize perfectly well that the tribunal cannot use judicial means to stop the torrent of scandalous insinuations stemming from Mr. Flores, who uses his position as defense attorney to cover his servitude to the GPU. Therefore, I maintain the right to publish all my statements relating to Mr. Flores's disgraceful activities.



Talking to Mexican officials about the  
assassination attempt.

## SUPPLEMENTARY DEPOSITION ON THE JULY 2 HEARING<sup>224</sup>

July 3, 1940

I feel it necessary to make the following supplementary statements to attorney Pavon Flores's questions.

Around the beginning of the investigation, when I could only deal with questions of hypothesis, I expressed suspicions about one of Mr. Flores's political friends, who had arisen as one of my severe accusers. In the same hearing, however, it seemed possible to him to express the suspicion that I had been warned of the crime beforehand by one of the supposed participants, specifically by Robert S. Harte, and that I hid this during the investigation. In other words, Mr. Flores brands me publicly with suspicion of a very grave crime, and does this, not at the start of the investigation, not in response to the police's questions, but at a time when the general nature of the crime has been completely clarified, and after which I,

in the presence of Mr. Flores, have supplied detailed explanations of the particulars in question. It must also be borne in mind that Mr. Flores acted in his capacity as the attorney of one of those accused of a grave crime, while I acted from the vantage point of the victim of that crime.

But if Mr. Flores doesn't have, and cannot have, even a shred of proof, one would have to suppose that his monstrous charge contains at least logically or psychologically convincing arguments. Unfortunately, even from this point of view his charge is completely ridiculous.

Mr. Flores's question about whether my house has "habitable" cellars led one to suppose that I generally spent my nights in the cellar. From what followed, however, it became clear that Mr. Flores's idea was totally different: having been forewarned by Robert Harte, according to him, I spent only a small part of the night of May 23-24 in the cellar. But for this it wouldn't be in any way necessary to have a habitable cellar: to avoid death it would even be possible to spend half an hour in the hen house or the firewood box.

The internal inconsistency in Mr. Flores's schema would not even, nevertheless, lie solely in this. Following the reasoning of the attorney, the only use I made of this warning about the impending attack consisted in my taking refuge in a "habitable" cellar (wouldn't it, nevertheless, have been a little less stupid to hide in an *uninhabitable* and therefore probably less accessible cellar?). That is to say, I abandoned all the inhabitants of the house to their own fate, including my grandson, whom the assailants intended to kill. Is there a shred of common sense in any of this? Isn't it obvious that if I really had been warned by my close collaborator, I would naturally have adopted totally different measures? I would have immediately informed General Nunez, mobilized my friends, and with the help of the police prepared a closed trap for the GPU's gangsters. In that case my poor friend Robert Harte would have been able to save his life. Naturally this is the way any reasonable person who had been warned would act. However, Mr. Flores prefers to attribute not only criminal, but also irrational behavior to me; dangerous to me and my friends, but favorable or at least less unfavorable for the GPU. In all truth it would be unjust not to recognize that the condition of this theory is really pitiful.

## SUPPLEMENTARY AND INDISPENSABLE EXPLANATIONS OF MY JULY 2 STATEMENTS<sup>225</sup>

July 5, 1940

To show the injustice with which *El Popular*, *Futuro*, and *La Voz de Mexico* accuse me of defamation, I choose *Futuro* among these publications. The reasons for this choice are the following: *Futuro* is not published daily, but monthly—as a result, the editorial staff has the opportunity to choose its contributors carefully and to weigh their articles; the editor of the magazine is Lombardo Toledano; on the editorial board, along with Victor Villasenor and Luis Fernandez del Campo appears Mr. Alejandro Carrillo, editor of *El Popular*. So it is that everything that can be said and proved about *Futuro* applies even more so to *El Popular*, not to mention *La Voz de Mexico*. As a result, I will refer here to the last two periodicals only in passing, reserving the right to return to them.

It is hardly my intention to enter into a political or theoretical polemic in this article with the editorial board of *Futuro*, which considers me "counterrevolutionary." Their political opinions and evaluations don't interest me. I do not accuse *Futuro*—a magazine without principles—of having nothing to do with Marxism, proletarian communism, or the traditions of the October Revolution, but of publishing, in the course of the three and a half years of my stay in Mexico, defamatory articles about me, and of deliberately circulating false accusations, fabricated in the laboratories of the GPU and translated into Spanish by their agents or with their collaboration. I accuse *Futuro* of having rejected, using futile pretexts, my numerous proposals that they present the proof of their deliberate lies to an impartial commission, governmental or otherwise.

I accuse *Futuro* of having participated in the moral preparation for the attempt on my life, by means of their malicious campaign, with the collaboration, in many cases, of future participants in the attack itself. I accuse *Futuro* of having aided the assailants, by all possible means, to obscure the

vestiges of the crime after May 24; of having berated me with false and stupid accusations of "self-assault," thus making objective investigation difficult. I accuse *Futuro* of continuing, even during the court investigation, its contemptible campaign of lies, slander, and falsehoods and, consequently, of participating in fact in the moral preparation for the second attempt, which undoubtedly is already occupying the agents of the GPU. As a result, I accuse *Futuro* of being an agent of the GPU in things affecting me, my family, and my friends.

### **The Participation of "Futuro" in the Moral Preparation for the Attempt**

In the work of selecting the examples and proofs of *Futuro's* malicious slanders against me, I am meeting with the following two difficulties: an abundance of material and moral repulsion. To save time for the court, I limit myself to choosing some examples that do not need a great number of dates or commentary.

The issue of *Futuro* dated March 1940 included an article by one Oscar Creydt Abelenda, "The Significance of Trotskyism," in which are included, among others, the following statements:

"Today, when American imperialism has become the most potent and open exponent of armed intervention against the USSR (by means of Mannerheim),<sup>226</sup> and at the same time the direct organizer of the foreign counterrevolutionary intervention in Mexico (by means of Almazan), Trotsky and his agents of information and provocation have placed themselves, as is logical, at the service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the United States.

"Scarcely a month ago, Mexico City was surprised by a multitude of posters of various sizes, colors, and texts, on which Leon Osorio, president of the so-called "Public Salvation Party," declared his relations with the Trotskyites broken. . . .

"The posters, written in the style typical of the Gestapo, like all of those which appear signed by Leon Osorio, originated in the office of the press attache of the German embassy in Mexico. . . .

"Simultaneously, the Gestapo expelled from its own bosom Trotsky's spies, which corroborates once again the unassailable results of the celebrated anti-Soviet Moscow trial (1938) in relation to the direct connection of Trotskyism with the Gestapo.

"The rupture between Trotsky and the Gestapo has its origin

in the legacy established by the Trotskyist agents, principally by Diego Rivera,<sup>227</sup> with 'international Jewry,' a political insult which Nazism applies with notorious frequency to the Wall Street imperialists, especially since the repeal of the arms embargo.

"The rapprochement of Trotsky and the FBI of the United States has occurred at the same time as the tightening of relations between Almazanism and the North American oil companies.

"Trotsky had foreseen things clearly since the beginning of the European war. The nonaggression pact between Germany and the USSR and the subsequent Moscow accord of September 29 had presented evidence that the services of Trotskyism were no longer indispensable for the Gestapo. Trotsky had to seek a new employer. This operation was nothing new to Trotskyism, given the fact that since 1924 Trotskyism found itself in the simultaneous service of various espionage agencies, like the British intelligence service."

It spoke later of a ". . . central command — Trotsky and the FBI . ." and finally:

"Today it is completely evident that Trotskyism in Latin America is no more than an agency of penetration, confusion, provocation, and espionage in the service of the Wall Street imperialists."

No one in the world, except the inquisitors of the GPU, have dared to accuse me of ties with the Gestapo or with the secret police of the United States. In spite of the monstrous nonsense of the accusation, which in itself discredits it, I insisted three years ago on an examination of the Moscow trials to be conducted by a commission composed of eleven persons of high authority, in their great majority irreconcilable adversaries of mine politically, under the direction of the internationally renowned philosopher and teacher John Dewey. Invited to participate on this commission, which worked with open sessions, were representatives of the Communist parties of the United States and of Mexico, the lawyer of the North American party, Mr. Brodsky, and Mr. Lombardo Toledano. Naturally they refused, following instructions from Moscow. The Moscow trials were exposed by the Dewey Commission to be the most colossal judicial fraud in history. I am honored to enclose two volumes of the work of the Commission, which contain more than a thousand pages. In the press of the whole world, the judicial fraud of Moscow is upheld only by the organs dependent directly on the GPU.

With respect to the political meaning of the accusations included in the article by Abelenda, I have only a few words to say, with the aim of identifying the hidden source that inspires *Futuro*. During all of my political life I have been an irreconcilable adversary of imperialism, under whatever political mask it may wear. No one can show that any of my acts or any of my writings contradict this position. When the Kremlin was preparing an alliance with the "democracies," and the Comintern was humbling itself before them, forgetting the problem of the colonies, I warned the workers that such democracies are *imperialist*. In answer, the GPU attacked me as an agent of Hitler and *Futuro* portrayed me in numerous caricatures with a swastika. When Stalin unexpectedly concluded a pact with Hitler, and I denounced the partition of Poland and the invasion of Finland, the GPU presented me as an agent of British and North American imperialism. The article by Abelenda, like many other articles in *Futuro*, is only an interpretation of the slanders of the GPU.

Who is Mr. Oscar Abelenda, author of the article in question? "A Paraguayan, professor at the Workers University," as he advertises himself. At the same time, he is a collaborator of *La Voz de Mexico*, and a prominent collaborator. Abelenda gave a report in *La Voz de Mexico* about the secret discussion in the National Committee of the Communist Party, although he himself is not a member of said committee. I consider it justified to assume that he is a supermember. His article, "The Significance of Trotskyism," is enough to recognize that he is an agent of the GPU.

The editors of *Futuro* are people sufficiently knowledgeable in politics and law to understand the true meaning of the article by Mr. Abelenda. Naturally Mr. Lombardo Toledano and Mr. Villasenor do not believe a single word of that article. Why do they compromise themselves printing seeming libel? There can only be one answer: their relations with the Kremlin oblige them to print against me whatever vile statements come out of the GPU. And these men accuse me of slander when I declare their political function to be an agency of the GPU!

The article of Mr. Abelenda is illustrated on page 35 with a cartoon against me. The author of the cartoon hid his name in a hieroglyph. Nonetheless, a comparison with other cartoons in the same magazine allows me to conclude that it was the work of Luis Arenal, assassin of Robert Sheldon Harte.

Of the utmost gravity is the date of the article by Abelenda: March 1940; that is to say at the moment the Communist

Party announced at its congress a new "anti-Trotskyist" campaign, and when preparation for the attempt was going full steam ahead.

It is impossible to close one's eyes when confronted with the following evidence: the article by Abelenda in *Futuro*; the purge in the Communist Party with the participation of Abelenda; the technical preparation for the attempt on my life, with the participation of members of the Communist Party; all have a common source, and this source is the GPU, powerful international agency of the Kremlin.

The small lies astonish by their omnipresence. In almost every issue of *Futuro* one can find another slander against me. I will give an idea of them. *El Popular* and *La Voz de Mexico* reported on my "secret counterrevolutionary ties with General Cedillo, Dr. Atl, General E. Acosta, and others. I denied those fantastic reports in the press. With respect to this, *Futuro* writes:

"Trotsky . . . has the honor of knowing Don Emilio N. Acosta, for although in a recent declaration he confessed that 'I don't have the honor of knowing General Acosta,' by this time he must have met him, judging by the diligence of Don Emilio in seeking converts" (January 1940).

Here we have the chemically pure lie. At first glance, the lie can appear to be lacking in importance. Nevertheless, it is a question of a little lie in the service of an important purpose. *Futuro* wants to suggest the idea that I am participating in the election campaign on the reactionary side. The date of this lie warrants attention: January 1940; that is to say, the month in which the technical preparation of the attempt on my life began.

### **The Collaboration of the GPU Terrorists in the Pages of "Futuro"**

The list of articles and cartoons appended to this article testifies that the future participants in the attempt, or their close friends, suspected by the police and subject to arrest or to questioning in relation to the May 24 attempt, played an important role in the pages of the "academic" press (Workers University Review!). As collaborators we find the following names: David Serrano Andonegui, D. A. Siqueiros, Luis Arenal, Angelica Arenal, sister of Luis and wife of Siqueiros; Nestor Sanchez Hernandez and Felix Guerrero Mejia. Some of them, like Luis Arenal and Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, attacked me

directly with the pen or pencil, before attacking me with the machine gun and the revolver; others, more cautious, prefer not to name me or hide themselves beneath pseudonyms. Aside from the terrorist agents of the GPU mentioned above, we find among the permanent collaborators the names of people repeatedly mentioned during the investigation: Leopoldo Mendez, Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez (one of the authors of the theory of "self-assault"), Andres Garcia Salgado and others. The list of collaborators of *Futuro* incontrovertibly testifies that the "gunmen" of the GPU were not strangers to such an environment. On the contrary, they were of the same flesh and blood.

One sees this very clearly in the personality of Siqueiros — not only in his artistic personality but also in his political one. Now, after the failure, his friends and collaborators of yesterday try to unload all the blame on him, describing him as a "pedant" ("pedant" with machine gun!), "irresponsible," and even "crazy." But yesterday it was different. In the May 1939 issue of *Futuro*, in the section "Profile of the Month," one finds, after one of the customary attacks against me, these lines:

"David Alfaro Siqueiros is an artist of great prestige and of universally recognized quality. In all America, from New York to Buenos Aires, his work as a painter is esteemed. He is a man who honors Mexico. In any country of the world, a person of this class is an object of respect, no matter what his political affiliation. In Mexico this is not the case. Recently he has been the object of arbitrary abuse by the city police."

D. A. Siqueiros is presented to us in these lines not only as an artist, but also as a political personality who is not sufficiently appreciated by the Mexican police. This pathetic apology for Siqueiros emerged, so it seems, from the pen of Mr. Alejandro Carrillo, editor of *El Popular*, who threatens to jail me for slander.

The special May 1939 issue is in and of itself very important. In the section, "Profile of the Month," one of the anonymous artists (Luis Arenal?) describes how Diego Rivera evicts Trotsky for not paying rent. (Here you have the level of this "educational" magazine.) In the same section, an ode in honor of Siqueiros. An article by Victor Manuel Villachez Hernandez describes the alliance of Trotskyism with the "Nazis." A cartoon by Luis Arenal. An article by Alejandro Carrillo. This list speaks for itself.

Here no one is dealing with hypotheses or guesses, but with incontrovertible facts, printed in the very pages of *Futuro*.

The editors of this magazine are closely associated with the most visible perpetrators of the May 24 attempt. The editorial staff of *Futuro* took part in the moral preparation for the attempt, before any of their collaborators had carried out the assault against my household, had kidnaped and killed Robert Harte, had tried to kill me, my wife, and our grandson.

### "Futuro" After the May 24 Attempt

In the July issue of this year, one can read, on page 24, editorial section, "The Profile of the Month":

"It does not cease to be amazing that three hundred shots from a machine gun were fired at a person from the doorway of his bedroom and he escaped without even a scratch.

"But for Mr. Trotsky the only explanation is that he threw himself under the bed upon hearing the shots; or to state it more correctly, it is not the only explanation, because later he affirmed that he had been elsewhere, and a little later he declared that that night he had slept in another place; and this series of contradictions is another of the bizarre things in this affair.

"The only clear thing in this question is that it was an act to provoke a reaction against Mexico, in order to let loose, not only within Mexico, but also in the United States, a movement of unfavorable opinion about our country, with a purpose that perhaps one of the members of the Dies Committee could explain, since they are so interested in inventing fabulous anti-Mexican stories."

There is not one grain of truth among the facts contained in this article. Moreover, it is stupid to suppose that a man capable of preparing a gigantic "self-assault" before the very eyes of the police, would be incapable of elucidating where he slept the night of the assault. In the USSR anyone who dared to show a similar contradiction in a fraud of the GPU would be shot immediately. Fortunately in Mexico that danger does not exist. The editors of *Futuro* should be more cautious. But even though it's stupid, their accusation is extremely serious: I organized — according to their statements — the assault against myself with the purpose of provoking the intervention of the United States in Mexico. Nothing more nor less! Why would I want an attack against Mexico, whose hospitality I enjoy? Why, moreover, would the United States intervene as the result of an attempt against a foreigner, an exiled Russian, to whom the United States has not opened its doors? None of this makes

sense. In this case the lies came out of thin air. But bad faith remains. If the authorities take the lies of *Futuro* seriously, that could have very tragic consequences for me and my family.

With respect to the crime of May 24, *Futuro* is carrying out the same treacherous politics as *El Popular* and *La Voz de Mexico*. It should be added that in a New York weekly, the *Nation* of June 8, Harry Block, who lives in Mexico and is closely tied to the *Futuro* group, published an article about the "self-assault." Though it is very cautious, it is impossible to avoid verifying that there is direct communication between the editors of *Futuro*, *El Popular*, and *La Voz de Mexico*, with the purpose of unloading on me the responsibility for the crime executed by the collaborators of those periodicals. That is the final conclusion that issues from the facts. And after all this, let the directors of *Futuro*, *El Popular*, and *La Voz de Mexico* accuse me of "slander!"

### **Appendix—The Moral Preparation of the Attempt**

#### **The Persecution of Trotsky and the Participation in It of the Future Assassins**

No.	Month	Year	Page	Article
22	Dec.	1937	24	Title page by Luis Arenal. Article by Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez: "Current Problems of the Revolution."
23	Jan.	1938	17	Title page by Leopoldo Mendez. Illustration by Luis Arenal.
24	Feb.	1938	18 30	Title page by Luis Arenal. Illustration by Leopoldo Mendez. Illustration by Luis Arenal.
25	March	1938	17 33 39	"Profile of the Month": "A Trotskyist Unmasks"—"Mr. Stolberg, wiping off the powder and rouge of a revolutionary clown, has revealed his true personality, that of a traitor, spy and fascist agent—in short, the personality of a Trotskyist." Article by Joshua Kunitz, translated from <i>New Masses</i> : "Guilty!"—supporting the Moscow trials. Illustration by Luis Arenal.

- 26 April 1938      Title page by Luis Arenal.  
                      23 Illustration by Luis Arenal.  
                      31 Article by Angelica Arenal. "The Congress of the CTM."
- 27 May 1938      15 Illustration by Leopoldo Mendez.  
                      52 (back cover) Illustration by Luis Arenal.
- 30 Aug. 1938     20-21 Illustration by Luis Audirac: "The Present Panorama of Mexico" (against Trotsky).  
                      40 Illustration by Xavier Guerrero: "The Organized Workers Will Finish off Trotskyism."
- 31 Sept. 1938     38 Article about "Trotsky in Mexico;" "Therefore Leon Trotsky Is an Enemy of the Mexican People" (with three photos of Trotsky).  
                      "Trotsky responds deliberately and slanders the government of Spain, vilifies the Chinese people, accuses the Mexican proletariat of selling out for Moscow gold, indirectly attacks the Cardenas government by attacking the theory of the Popular Front and agrees in everything with the ideas and acts arising from fascism."
- 33 Nov. 1938     21 "Profile of the Month": Against Trotskyism.  
                      23 "Profile of the Month": Against Abelardo L. Rodriguez and Trotskyism.
- 32 Oct. 1938     19 (special supplement)  
                      Illustration by Leopoldo Mendez.
- 34 Dec. 1938     9 Illustration by Luis Audirac against Trotsky.  
                      12 Illustration by Luis Audirac against Trotsky. "The Reaction is Prepared."  
                      15 Article by Luis Fernandez del Campo: "What Trotsky Means": "And in Mexico, at this very moment in which a new political struggle is being launched, Trotsky has adapted himself to serve as an instrument of the counterrevolutionary sectors . . ."

- 16 Illustration by Santos Balmori: "Leon Trotsky, as he really is."
- 32 Article by Victor Manuel Villasenor: "The USSR and Abelardo," with illustrations against Trotsky.
- 35 Jan. 1939 21 Illustration by Leopoldo Mendez.
- 35 35 Illustration against Trotsky.
- 36 Feb. 1939 19 Illustration by Luis Arenal.
- 30 Illustration by Luis Audirac: "Mouse-trap of Fascists and Mexican Ex-Revolutionaries," against Trotsky.
- 37 March 1939 16 Article by Andres Garcia Salgado: "What We Find in Spain."
- 16 Article by Felix Guerrero Mejia: "The Popular Army."
- 17 Article by A. D. Serrano: "The Invading Army."
- 17 Article by David Alfaro Siqueiros: "Our Vision of Mexico."
- 15 Editorial: "The Return of Our Volunteers."
- 27 Illustration by Luis Arenal.
- 14 Editorial: ". . . Around some of the nominees, hover the agents of Leon Trotsky . . ."
- 38 April 1939 28 Article by Andres Garcia Salgado: "Peace Without Honor in Spain."
- 39 May 1939 17 "Profile of the Month": paragraph against Trotsky.
- 18 "Profile of the Month": "David Alfaro Siqueiros is an artist of great prestige and of universally recognized quality. In all America, from New York to Buenos Aires, his work as a painter is esteemed. He is a man who honors Mexico. In any country of the world, a person of this class is the object of respect, no matter what his political affiliation. In Mexico, this is not the case. Recently, he has been the object of arbitrary abuse by the city police."
- 28 Illustration by Luis Arenal.

- 29 Article by Nestor Sanchez Hernandez: "The Spanish People Have Not Been Defeated" against Trotsky: "But the Spanish people and the world have learned, moreover, many other interesting things; they have learned to size up the true role of the Trotskyists as fascist agents. . . ."
- 40 June 1939 24 Article by Angelica Arenal: "Women in Present Society."
- 43 Sept. 1939 15 "The USSR in the Interimperialist Struggle"; "The attitude of the USSR in no way signifies an accommodation between Moscow and Berlin, as the Trotskyists affirm with malevolent idiocy."
- 47 Jan. 1940 24 "The Honor of Trotsky." Accuses Trotsky of knowing General Acosta.
- 32 "The International Police of the U. S." by Carlos Enrique Rivas. A paragraph against Trotsky in relation to the Dies Committee.
- 48 Feb. 1940 32 Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez: "Youth and Tragedy": ". . . the pupils of Blum and Trotsky have opposed the unity of the young generations, they have sabotaged it and have openly fought it."
- 49 March 1940 34 Oscar Creydt Abelenda: "The Significance of Trotskyism": ". . . Trotsky and his agents of information and provocation have placed themselves, as is logical, at the service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the U. S. . . . The Gestapo has expelled from its own bosom Trotsky's spies. . . . The split between Trotsky and Rivera is transparently obvious. . . ." "Today it is completely evident that Trotskyism in Latin America is no more than an agency of penetration and provocation, of confusion and espionage in the service of the Wall Street imperialists."

## QUESTIONS ABOUT MRS. CARMEN PALMA'S STATEMENT<sup>228</sup>

**July 1940**

1) On May 29, Mrs. Carmen Palma told Colonel Salazar that on May 23 she was "completely certain that an absolutely secret meeting took place in Mr. Trotsky's office, between him and his guards. . . ." What is the meaning of the words "absolutely secret?" Exactly how was the conference different from the many others that preceded it?

2) In the same deposition, Mrs. Carmen enumerates the participants in the alleged conference by their names and surnames. Who made this list, the investigator or the deponent? Is it not remarkable that she could list from memory, before the judge, the names and surnames of all the participants!

3) Mrs. Carmen says that the conference "lasted from 3:30 until almost 6:00 p.m." Were the time and the length of this conference extraordinary, or were they exactly the same as those of ordinary conferences?

(The fact is that all my meetings with guards, visitors, etc., take place between 3:30 and 6:00 p.m.)

4) Mrs. Carmen's deposition was made on May 29, that is, six days after the alleged meeting, and those six days were full of unusual events. Doesn't Mrs. Carmen think it possible that her memory is deceiving her, and that the conference she is thinking of took place on May 17 or on May 20?

5) Mrs. Carmen affirms that "both Otto and Charlie were visibly nervous, Otto more than Charlie, for they ran back and forth between their living quarters and Mr. Trotsky's office, and spoke with him discreetly, as if something were going on." At what time did these interviews take place? How could she tell that Otto and Charlie were nervous? What does it mean that we spoke "discreetly?" From what vantage point was Mrs. Carmen watching the interviews? From where did she hear the conversations? For example, did she listen at

the door? How did these "discreet" conversations differ from the ordinary ones?

(The difference must have been marvelous, since she says that she retired to her quarters "preoccupied with what she had seen.")

6) The same woman affirms that she retired "to rest, at about 9:00, when Harold, Robert Sheldon, and Jake were in the guards' quarters, which seemed strange to her." In this declaration, Mrs. Carmen's bad faith is evident. She knows quite well that between 9:00 and 10:00 p.m., two, three, four, and even five guards are in the guards' quarters at the same time, because the most accurate clock in the house, the telephone, the instruction book, the visitors' book, the list of daily duties and purchases, the case of firearms, ammunition, and tools for cleaning the weapons, the electric lamps, gasoline lanterns, first-aid kit, and even food for the guards are all located in their cottage. All these things are used, taken, and returned to their place by the guards dozens of times during the day. In the cottage they exchange observations, and divide up their work during brief improvisational meetings. When Mrs. Carmen herself would use the telephone, she would always find two or three guards in the cottage. Especially after dinner, they are in the cottage until 11:00 to talk, drink coffee or tea, discuss security matters, and prepare their work for the next day. I repeat that Mrs. Carmen knows this perfectly well, and to affirm that the presence of three guards in the cottage "seemed strange" is a deliberate lie.

7) She continues: the shift "fell to Harold until 1:00 a.m., when he would be relieved by Robert Sheldon until 4:00 a.m., according to the established procedure." The statement is correct, but where and how she learned of the "established procedure" is a mystery. Why was she interested in the "established procedure" for the night of the 23rd to the 24th? Since the procedure had nothing to do with her duties, she must have had a special interest in it. What was this interest?

8) Mrs. Carmen adds that "still settled in her bed, she heard Mr. Trotsky shout to Belem<sup>229</sup> asking whether she had seen the deponent, and whether anything had happened to her. . . ." Why did she stay in bed after the assault, when everyone else was already up and around, exchanging impressions, etc.?

9) And she continues immediately: ". . . to which Belem answered 'no,' but Mr. Trotsky then said that it was his duty to make sure that she was all right. . . ." From these words it can be clearly deduced that Mrs. Carmen heard perfectly

what was being said on the patio: my conversation with Belem, my concern for Mrs. Carmen herself—but she didn't open her mouth or get out of bed. All this produces the impression that she felt ashamed. Why? Did she conceive even at that moment the idea of self-assault?

10) She declares that she could "notice with absolute certainty a spent shell on Mrs. Trotsky's pillowcase, and another one in the middle of the bed, although at the moment they didn't catch her attention because of the shock of the events, but later she thought about it and said: how could those two shells be there when . . . Mr. and Mrs. Trotsky always insisted that the assailants never entered their bedroom." The contradiction is indicated here correctly, but it raises the question of whether the contradiction was established by Mrs. Carmen herself or was suggested to her by a third person. By whom, precisely? Can she state at what distance shells fall from a firearm, and whether they are from a revolver or from a machine-gun? Tell us whether she asked my wife where the shells came from or whether she kept quiet. Why was she silent? Wouldn't it have been more natural to ask, to find out, to exchange impressions like the others? Isn't Mrs. Carmen's muteness a sure sign of her inward embarrassment?

11) Mrs. Carmen herself says that "later on she thought about it." When, exactly? Was it on the 24th or on the 29th, the day she made the deposition, that she thought about the contradiction between the presence of the shells and the Trotskys' statement that nobody entered their bedroom? Did she herself deduce from this contradiction that the assault was a self-assault? But the self-assault means that the Trotskys themselves fired guns, on their own beds, and deliberately scattered the shells about. What reason could they have in that case for denying that the assailants entered their bedroom? This fact does not prove the theory of self-assault; it proves the absurdity of the theory of self-assault.

12) She says about my grandson that "according to other statements, he had been wounded in the foot by a ricocheting bullet, but that she had not seen any wound." (!) This statement is deliberately incomplete and, because of its omissions, deliberately false. "She had not seen any wound." Did she attend the dressing of his wound or not? Did she accompany the boy to the doctor even once? If not, how could she have seen the wound? But she could not have helped noticing that the boy spent several days on the sofa so he wouldn't open the wound, and that he was taken daily to the doctor for treatment. In

addition, Mrs. Carmen could not have neglected to notice that the floor of the library was full of bloodstains, which were produced when the boy ran from his room to the library, through the patio, to look out the window, afterwards passing through the dining room. Miss Belem washed the floor and, having seen the footprints, could not have avoided mentioning it to Mrs. Carmen. If she didn't mention these facts, it was through bad faith.

13) Further on, Mrs. Carmen declared: "The Trotskys, as well as their grandson, the guards, and the French couple,<sup>230</sup> maintained the most absolute calmness, as though an attempt that put all of their lives in danger had not occurred. . . ." "Absolute calmness" is a false expression. After having escaped a mortal danger, everyone was somewhat excited and relieved, disturbed only because of Bob Sheldon's disappearance. Everyone was questioning everyone else about the details of what had occurred, etc. If there was a suspicious "calmness," it was on the part of Mrs. Carmen, who did not leave her room until Belem, and then my wife, visited her at my request. This indifference is made graver by the fact that after having seen the empty shells she didn't ask anything, but just kept silent.

14) She adds that "later on, she met Sergeant Casas again and, while discussing the subject with him, he told her his impressions, which were that it had been a self-assault, and when she asked him what that was, Casas answered that it was an assault prepared by themselves." When did Casas make this revelation? Before Carmen thought over the empty shells or afterwards? If the statement about Casas is true, it is a very important indictment against Casas himself. It can be interpreted in the sense that Casas counseled Carmen: "since nobody was murdered, we can say that the whole thing was a self-assault." The fact that Carmen told us nothing about this disgraceful insinuation by Casas can be interpreted as complicity. When my wife asked Carmen why she concealed Casas's insinuation about the "self-assault" for several weeks, she answered that Casas *forbade* her to speak of it. But how can her obedience to this prohibition by Casas be explained?

I believe that a confrontation between Mr. Casas and Mrs. Carmen Palma would be of the first importance.

15) In the beginning of June, when the press publicized the fact that Otto Schuessler and Charles Cornell had been arrested as a result of Carmen Palma's deposition, she declared on her own initiative that she had never said anything against the two of them, and that her statement, which she had never

read, must have been completely false. Today it is clear that Mrs. Carmen tried to deceive the members of my household about the slander she was giving the investigators.

16) Mrs. Carmen also deduced a "self-assault" from the fact that "everyone claimed not to have fired the shots" (the same deduction, more broadly, was made by Miss Belem). But what could the *self-assault* consist of? Evidently, of *self-shootings* done by *self-marksmen*. If the inhabitants of the house, the "self-assailants," did not shoot, then who did shoot? To give the self-assault the appearance of authenticity, the guards must have done the shooting. If they weren't the ones, it was because they were unable to leave their rooms, being under attack from bursts of machine-gun fire. Precisely the fact that the guards were paralyzed demonstrates the gravity of the assault.

Colonel Salazar and other investigators asked me several times if I did not suspect the servant women. I answered that I had no personal reasons for such suspicions, but that it was possible that the Stalinists might have acted as "sweethearts" to the servant women, as they were doing to the police. At that time I was not acquainted with the declarations of Mrs. Carmen and Miss Belem. I read them for the first time on July 5, when I received copies of them, and the two depositions impressed me profoundly, for they are almost identical and are equally dishonest.

These statements could not have been spontaneous. Either Mrs. Carmen was to a certain extent implicated in the assault, or at least there is some person who organized the depositions of the two women. The task of the investigation is to clear up this mystery.

## ON CONSCRIPTION<sup>231</sup>

July 9, 1940

Dear Comrade Al,

I believe that we agree with you on all the points of a principled character as they are formulated in your letter of July 6.

It is very important to understand that the war does not nullify or diminish the importance of our transitional program. Just the contrary is true. The transitional program is a bridge between the present situation and the proletarian revolution. War is a continuation of politics by other means. The characteristic of war is that it accelerates the development. It signifies that our transitional revolutionary slogans will become more and more actual, effective, important with every new month of the war. We have only of course to concretize and adapt them to the conditions. That is why in your first paragraph I would eliminate the word "to modify" because it can produce the impression that we must modify something of a principled character.

We are absolutely in favor of compulsory military training and in the same way for conscription. Conscription? Yes. By the bourgeois state? No. We cannot entrust this work, as any other, to the state of the exploiters. In our propaganda and agitation we must very strongly differentiate these two questions. That is, not to fight against the necessity of the workers being good soldiers and of building up an army based on discipline, science, strong bodies and so on, including conscription, but against the capitalist state which abuses the army for the advantage of the exploiting class. In your paragraph four you say: "Once conscription is made into law, we cease to struggle against it but continue our struggle for military training under workers' control, etc." I would prefer to say: "Once conscription is made into law we, without ceasing to

struggle against the capitalist state, concentrate our struggle for military training and so on."

We can't oppose compulsory military training by the bourgeois state just as we can't oppose compulsory education by the bourgeois state. Military training in our eyes is a part of education. We must struggle against the bourgeois state; its abuses in this field as in others.

We must of course fight against the war not only "until the very last moment" but during the war itself when it begins. We must however give our fight against the war its fully revolutionary sense, opposing and pitilessly denouncing pacifism. The very simple and very great idea of our fight against the war is: we are against the war but we will have the war if we are incapable of overthrowing the capitalists.

I don't see any reason why we should renounce the slogan of a people's referendum on the war. It is a very good slogan to unmask the futility of *their* democracy in such a vital question as the war.

I don't believe that the demand for workers' defense guards will be eliminated by the demand for universal military training. The approach of the war and the war itself with the rise of chauvinistic moods will inevitably provoke pogroms against the trade unions, revolutionary organizations and papers. We can't give up defending ourselves. Universal training can only facilitate for us the creation of workers' defense guards.

"Government ownership . . . of all war industries" should be replaced by "national" or by "state ownership."

Such are the remarks I can make in relation to your letter.

Fraternally,  
L. Trotsky

## APPEAL TO THE PRESS<sup>232</sup>

**July 27, 1940**

Ever since the case of the May 24 attack passed into the hands of the Mexican police, I felt it my duty to direct myself as little as possible to the press. Moreover, during past weeks public attention has been focused on the presidential elections. Therefore, though I did not disregard the dozens of provocations, insinuations, and slanders stamped with the trademark "Made by GPU" [English in original], at least I left them unanswered.

There is, however, a limit beyond which silence looks like a partial confession of "guilt." On my part, if I bear any guilt, it is only for excessive indulgence towards journalists and politicians who are totally immersed in the moral perversity of Stalinism.

In any case, in view of the incessant provocations of *La Voz de Mexico*, *El Popular*, and *Futuro*, I propose from this day forward to give simultaneously to the Mexican press all documents and materials that I hand over to the court, that expose the role of these publications and their inspirers in the service of the GPU. I hope that all honorable publications, regardless of their political tendencies, will help in uncovering the repulsive and criminal plot of Stalin's agency, not only against my honor and security, but also against the public opinion and authorities of this country.

## LETTER TO THE “NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE”<sup>233</sup>

July 27, 1940

Sir:

In the July 25 issue of the *Herald Tribune* an article was published, telephoned from Mexico City by Mr. Jack O'Brine, quoting declarations made by a certain Cesar Ortiz, "foreign editor of Mexico's leading labor newspaper, *Popular*," to sixty American educators visiting Mexico, of a "conspiracy" between me and General Juan Andreu Almazan to establish a "fascist regime south of the Rio Grande" and later in the United States, in the event that I were admitted to that country. Mr. Cesar Ortiz, according to the report in the *Herald Tribune*, added that the Mexican authorities were investigating this "conspiracy" allegedly organized with the financial help of Hitler and Mussolini, that is, the German and Italian allies of Stalin.

Your readers no doubt are intelligent enough to discern the source of this dirty, arrogant, and stupid falsification. The source is specified by three letters: GPU.

As for Mr. Cesar Ortiz, I do not know anything about him. But I can admit that he really exists and directs what is called the "foreign" policy of *El Popular*. On July 2, before the Mexican courts, I reaffirmed that this paper is a semi-official organ of the GPU; that in all questions of interest to Stalin it supports the politics of the GPU; that it invariably defends the crimes of the GPU and propagates all the falsifications and slanders which the GPU spreads against the enemies of Stalin; that if—after a long period of defending Hitler—*El Popular* today defends "democracy" it does so under direct orders from the GPU and in the interest of some temporary need of Stalin.

In view of the fact that the perpetrators of the assault against me, and particularly the murderers of Robert Sheldon Harte, are agents of the GPU and members of the Comintern; that the editors of *El Popular* were moral accomplices in the prepara-

tion of the May 24 assault and in the attempts to cover up the crime; that these facts are being placed before the court by me with all the necessary exactitude; and in view of the fact that the friends of the GPU and the inspirers of *El Popular* happen to be deeply compromised, the secret police of Stalin, its agents and friends, including evidently Cesar Ortiz whom I do not know, are making desperate attempts to block the judicial investigation and to terrorize me in order to prevent further revelations concerning the criminal activity of the GPU on the American continent. All these attempts are in vain. I will carry my work through to the end.

In order to give my denial of the assertions reported in the *Herald Tribune* all the necessary completeness I add:

(a) I have never had either direct or indirect connections with the internal politics of Mexico, in particular the recent election campaign.

(b) I do not have the honor of knowing General Juan Andreu Almazan. I have never had either direct or indirect relations with him in particular nor with any of the outstanding figures in general in any of the political camps of Mexico.

(c) I do not have and could not have any motive to create any difficulties for the government of the only country which granted me its hospitality.

(d) The assertions reported by your correspondent represent not an isolated fact but part of a campaign which has been uninterruptedly and systematically conducted against me under the direction and with the financial assistance of the GPU.

(e) I reserve the right to sue Mr. Cesar Ortiz for the malicious slanders he has made against me in the interests of the GPU.

Leon Trotsky

## MISFORTUNE OF AN INTELLECTUAL<sup>234</sup>

**July 29, 1940**

Dear Al:

Thank you for your letter of July 4 enclosing letter of Comrade X. My delay in answering has been caused by the judicial investigation which has taken up all of my time.

What you write about J. confirms my apprehensions that he may be completely lost for the movement. His misfortune is that he never belonged to the mass movement. He never learned the workers' organization from the inside. He shares this misfortune with many others, only in a sharper form. His reasonings about the methods of organizing workers, etc., are purely speculative and without any basis or content.

During the last few months we were visited by our friends in Minneapolis. What a difference! These people are active, optimistic, sure of themselves and thoroughly revolutionary.

On the other hand, we were also visited by a group of seven minorityites. They have all the characteristics of the Russian Mensheviks at the beginning of the history of the party. Three of them, who seemed to us at first glance more stable, more firm, more serious, are abandoning the so-called Workers Party.

With best greetings,  
Trotsky

## **STALIN STILL HITLER'S SATELLITE<sup>235</sup>**

**August 2, 1940**

Molotov's latest speech confirms that the Kremlin continues to be a satellite of Berlin and Rome. The Communist leaders in various countries have calmed their parties with promises that tomorrow if not today Moscow will turn toward the "democracies." Molotov's speech belies these promises. Five years of "antifascist" People's Fronts are definitely unmasked as charlatanism. Moscow's foreign policy is determined by power politics and not by political principles.

Molotov, it is true, tried to cover the present Kremlin policy with anti-imperialist phraseology. But its falseness strikes one's eyes. Molotov unmasked England's wish to retain her colonies. But he kept silent about Germany's and Italy's wish to take them. He spoke about the imperialism of Japan and the United States but he didn't find a word of condemnation for Hitler's banditry and Mussolini's jackal politics. Even more, he underlined for the first time that the German-Soviet pact assured free hands to Hitler. This unilateral and thoroughly sham "fight" against imperialism only reveals that Moscow's politics are not independent but serve the interests of one imperialism against the other.

An increase in population of 23,000,000 doesn't solve the problem of security of the USSR. The victory of Hitler-Mussolini over Great Britain would immediately place the move towards the East on the order of the day for German imperialism. It would at once become clear that in following the line of least resistance the Kremlin oligarchy only accumulated difficulties and dangers.

## NIPPING A NEW GPU LIE<sup>236</sup>

August 2, 1940

Dear Friend Charles:

It seems that the Stalinists here are making a new desperate attempt to transform David Siqueiros into my agent.

David Serrano, a member of the Politburo and one of the prisoners in connection with the assault, made a deposition that Diego Rivera and I have given money to David Siqueiros for his paper.

This new construction surely comes from the GPU through the defender of David Serrano, a certain Pavon Flores, a miserable person who is capable of any villainy. They will again represent my break with Diego Rivera as fictitious.

In view of the fact that you played a very important role during the period immediately preceding and following the break, it would be a good thing for you to send me an affidavit on this matter. It is not necessary to present a large exposition of various incidents; one or two pages would be sufficient. In view of the fact that the agents of the GPU repeat that I intervened in the presidential campaign, it is necessary not to forget that one of the most important points in my disagreement with Diego Rivera was his adventurous intervention in the presidential campaign.

I would be glad to have your affidavit as early as possible.

Also please give me some information about the situation in general and in the party.

In all friendship, I am,

Sincerely,  
L. Trotsky

## TO GENEROUS FRIENDS<sup>237</sup>

August 3, 1940

Dear Mr.—:

My old friends, during their visit here and later in their letters, have communicated to me that your friendship is indefatigable. This fact is one hundred times more precious now, when the chauvinistic epidemic created by the war dominates even honest liberal friends and removes them from us—who are incorrigible revolutionaries.

Thanks to the efforts of the North American friends, our peaceful suburban house is now being transformed, week by week, into a fortress—and at the same time into a prison. Not in the modern manner, it is true, but rather like a prison in medieval times. My young friends, who have the difficult and risky job of being guards are hopeful that, thanks to the reconstruction now under way, the assailants will not escape a second time as easily as they did the first.

My wife, Natalia, and I send you our warmest greetings and hope—in case your plans make it necessary or possible for you to come to Mexico—that we will have the pleasure of meeting you, and of showing you our "fortress."

With cordial greetings and thanks, I am,

Sincerely yours,  
L. Trotsky

Dear Mr. Kay:

The only thing I know about you, through my friends Jim Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, is that you are a very sure and generous friend. There are not many such friends in these times of war fury; of nationalistic tendencies and red-baiting.

We live here, my family and my young friends, under the permanent threat of a new "blitzkrieg" assault on the part of the Stalinists and, as in the case of England, the material aid comes from the States.

During the past two months the house has been undergoing transformation into a kind of "fortress"; in a few more weeks we will be very well protected against new "blitzkrieg" assaults.

Please be assured of my friendliest thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,  
L. Trotsky

## ASSASSINS MAY USE “TROTSKYIST” LABEL<sup>238</sup>

August 6, 1940

The object of my invitation to the press is to point out to the press the new myth that the GPU is concocting in Mexico. It will appear that the GPU desires to convince humanity that David Alfaro Siqueiros is my agent. And that by my initiative he organized the assault! What preoccupies me most is the attempt of the GPU to revive the theory of self-assault, a thing which is very difficult since the body of Robert Sheldon Harte has been found and since the confessions of those arrested.

But the GPU has in its hands Siqueiros and, through the lawyer Pavon Flores, acting as intermediary, they have hold of David Serrano. Serrano was six years in Moscow, from where he was sent to Spain, and nobody goes out of Russia without the authorization of the GPU. Serrano participated in Spain as an agent of the GPU and came as a high agent of that body to Mexico. That is the reason why he entered the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party. . . .

It is very important for these gentlemen to throw all the blame on Siqueiros and for them to say that everything was organized by him.

Will not the GPU demand of Siqueiros, under pain of death, that tomorrow he declare himself to have been secretly a Trotskyist? Will not Siqueiros declare that he killed Bob Harte in the course of a "self-assault" (i.e., a staged affair)? Will not David Serrano confess that he has been simply an agent of the Dies Committee for the organization of political assassinations? Isn't *El Popular* already preparing an editorial article on the same theme? We know in advance its style of patriotic indignation! Well, let them try it! Moscow has had for a long time its classical system for affairs of this kind. We await with serenity the new intrigue. We shall help the investigation to discover the logic of this masquerade.

## AMERICAN PROBLEMS<sup>239</sup>

August 7, 1940

*Question 1: What should be the role of a draftable revolutionist in the United States now?*

- (a) *Should he try to avoid the draft?*
- (b) *To what extent should the party try to conserve its cadres?*
- (c) *Should the party concentrate most of its strength in the military or industrial sections of the country?*
- (d) *What are the alternative roles of a woman revolutionist in this war?*

*Trotsky:* If he is draftable, then let him be drafted. I don't think he should try to avoid the draft—he must go with his generation and participate in its life. Should the party try to conserve its cadres by saving them from the army? This means conserving them in a very bad sense. When the best part of the population is mobilized, then our cadres must be among them.

Should the party concentrate most of its strength in the military or industrial organizations? This depends upon the size of the militarization and mobilization. If the greater part of the population is militarized then the greater part of our party would also be in the army.

About the women—inasmuch as the women will replace men in many branches of industry and social work, our comrades will also play the role of their generation.

We should understand that the life of this society, politics, everything, will be based upon war, therefore the revolutionary program must also be based on war. We cannot oppose the fact of the war with wishful thinking; with pious pacifism. We must place ourselves upon the arena created by this society. The arena is terrible—it is war—but inasmuch as we are weak and incapable of taking the fate of society into our hands; inasmuch as the ruling class is strong enough to impose upon us this war, we are obliged to accept this basis for our activity.

I read a short report of a discussion that Shachtman had

with a professor in Michigan, and Shachtman formulated this idea: "Let us have a program for peace, not war; for the masses, not for murder," etc. What does this mean? If we do not have peace, we cannot have a program for peace. If we have war, we must have a program for war, and the bourgeoisie cannot help but organize the war. Neither Roosevelt nor Willkie is free to decide;<sup>240</sup> they *must* prepare the war, and when they have prepared it they will conduct it. They will say they cannot do otherwise, because of the danger from Hitler, etc., of the danger from Japan, etc. There is only one way of avoiding the war—that is the overthrow of this society. However, as we are too weak for this task, the war is inevitable. The question then, for us, is not the same as in the bourgeois salon—"let us write an article on peace, etc.," which is suitable for publications like the *Nation*. Our people must consider it seriously; we must say: the war is inevitable, so let us have an organized workers' program for the war. The draft of the youth is a part of the war and becomes a part of our program.

It is questionable whether the United States will send an expeditionary force at this time. I have the impression that they are not disposed to send an army to Europe or anywhere else for a couple of years, because you cannot create such an army overnight in a country where you do not have a military tradition, as, for instance, in Germany, where for centuries they have had a tradition of Prussian militarism.

Now the capitalists wish to create this tremendous army of millions, to create officers, to create a new military spirit, and they have begun with full success to change the public opinion of the nation toward militarism. At the time that Roosevelt made his campaign speech, there was an outburst of public opinion for isolationism, but now all this sentiment belongs to the past—to the childhood of the nation—in spite of the fact that it took place only a few months ago.

Now the national feeling is for a tremendous army, navy and air force. This is the psychological atmosphere for the creation of a military machine, and you will see it become stronger and stronger every day and every week. You will have military schools, etc., and a Prussianization of the United States will take place. The sons of the bourgeois families will become imbued with Prussian feelings and ideals, and their parents will be proud that their sons look like Prussian lieutenants. To some extent this will be also true of the workers.

That is why we must try to separate the workers from the others by a program of education, of workers' schools, of workers' officers, devoted to the welfare of the worker army, etc. We cannot escape from the militarization but inside the machine we can observe the class line. The American workers do not want to be conquered by Hitler, and to those who say "Let us have a peace program," the worker will reply, "But Hitler does not want a peace program." Therefore *we* say: We will defend the United States with a workers' army, with workers' officers, with a workers' government, etc. If we are not pacifists, who wait for a better future, and if we are active revolutionists, our job is to penetrate into the whole military machine. Of course, out of this army, tomorrow they might select a corps to send to some battlefield, and no doubt this corps will be annihilated, but war is a risky business and we cannot invent any medicine against these risks.

Of course the party can make certain exceptions of those men who are necessary for a certain job, but this concerns only individual exceptions, and here we are discussing the rule. Furthermore, our comrades should be the best soldiers and the best officers and at the same time the best class militants. They should provoke in the workers a mistrust of the old tradition, the military plans of the bourgeois class and officers, and should insist upon the necessity of educating workers' officers, who will be absolutely loyal to the proletariat. In this epoch every great question, national or international, will be resolved with arms—not by peaceful means. It doesn't depend upon my will or your will, but is caused by the contradictions of the society which has put this problem before us, and from which we cannot escape. That is why it is the duty of every worker and revolutionist to learn how to manipulate arms skillfully.

About the losses in the trade unions, if we have a large mobilization, then the unions will immediately lose the best elements and only the older people will remain. These people are not as likely to be persistent. On the other hand, the younger generations for the first time in history will feel themselves armed—by the state itself! It is absolutely correct that in the first period we will have an explosion of chauvinistic patriotism, and that we will be isolated even more than now, and that this period of activity will inevitably be limited by repressions, but we must adapt ourselves to the situation. That is why it would be doubly stupid to present a purely abstract pacifist position today; the feeling the masses have is that it

is necessary to defend themselves. We must say: "Roosevelt (or Willkie) says it is necessary to defend the country; good! only it must be *our* country, not that of the Sixty Families and their Wall Street. The army must be under our own command; we must have our own officers, who will be loyal to us." In this way we can find an approach to the masses that will not push them away from us, and thus to prepare for the second step—a more revolutionary one.

We must use the example of France to the very end. We must say, "I warn you, workers, that they (the bourgeoisie) will betray you! Look at Petain, who is a friend of Hitler.<sup>241</sup> Shall we have the same thing happen in this country? We must create our own machine, under workers' control." We must be careful not to identify ourselves with the chauvinists, nor with the confused sentiments of self-preservation, but we must understand their feelings and adapt ourselves to these feelings critically, and prepare the masses for a better understanding of the situation, otherwise we will remain a sect, of which the pacifist variety is the most miserable.

We must also say that the war has a tendency toward totalitarian dictatorship. War develops a centralization, and during war the bourgeois class cannot allow the workers any new concessions. The trade unions will therefore become a kind of Red Cross for the workers, a sort of philanthropic institution. The bosses themselves will be under control by the state, everything will be sacrificed to the army, and the trade union influence will become zero. And we must say of this now: "If you don't place yourselves on a workers' military basis, with workers' schools, workers' officers, etc., and go to war on the old style military basis, you will be doomed." And this, in its own way, will preserve the trade unions themselves.

Even if the United States sends armies abroad, to Europe or Asia, and the mortality rate will be expectedly high, we cannot make exceptions for our comrades, because on the other hand we cannot foresee the tempo of revolutionary development in Europe or Asia, and perhaps the American army will enter such a country during a revolutionary beginning. In that case even two or three of our men can play a tremendous role during such a period. They might try to use this American army against such a revolution, and in that case even one courageous man can turn the regiment into another direction. This cannot be foreseen—there are too many unknowns; but that is why we say we must all go with our class.

I do not believe that a revolutionary can remain aside for the first critical period—say, a year or so—and then come with his stick and hat and say, "Now, comrades, we will begin the revolution!" Excuse me for making a caricature of this. But if he is in the army and tells the others about the dangers in the bourgeois institutions and advises them to create a workers' program for war, in spite of all the chauvinistic attacks upon him, and even if they turn away, they will later say, "Remember, he told us so." And then he becomes an authority. This is repeated in every war, and not only in wars but in strikes and trade union movements. All they have to remember is: "This man warned us and we rejected him." Then he becomes their leader, a hero.

If the leaders seek only to preserve themselves, that is what they become: preserves—dried preserves. If they enter the movement, they give the impulse to five, ten, twenty others. It is more important to multiply our cadres than to preserve them, and they can be multiplied by the hundreds. Our cadres need education and experience in mass movements, and how can they get this outside the life of the masses? No, it is not possible to jump out of your epoch. Moreover, we would have to make arrangements with the general staff, and I am sure they would not agree with the idea of escape!

*Question 2: How will the backwardness of the United States working class advance or retard the growth of fascism?*

(a) *What are the possibilities of the war time dictatorship becoming a full-fledged fascist dictatorship?*

*Trotsky:* The backwardness of the United States working class is only a relative term. In many very important respects it is the most progressive working class of the world: technically, and in its standard of living.

We can look forward now to a change in the economic situation of the United States—a very brusque change, and then when the war comes, to the misery which will follow. Even now, under the program of militarization, with millions upon millions thrown into the war machine, the rapid lowering of the standard of living for the working class will produce a very rapid change of mind in the American workers.

The American worker is very combative—as we have seen during the strikes. They have had the most rebellious strikes in the world. What the American worker misses is a spirit of generalization, or analysis, of his class position in society as a whole. This lack of social thinking has its origin in the



With Farrell Dobbs.

country's whole history—the Far West with the perspective of unlimited possibilities for everyone to become rich, etc. Now all that is gone, but the mind remains in the past. Idealists think the human mentality is progressive, but in reality it is the most conservative element of society. Your technique is progressive but the mentality of the worker lags far behind. Their backwardness consists of their inability to generalize their problem; they consider everything on a personal basis.

Now, the war will teach the American workers social thinking. The economic crisis has already begun and in the CIO we see the first reaction of the workers—confused but important. They begin to feel themselves as a class; they see ten to fourteen millions of unemployed, etc. Now the war will continue to teach them social thinking, and this means revolutionary thinking.

About fascism. In all the countries where fascism became victorious, we had, before the growth of fascism and its victory, a wave of radicalism of the masses; of the workers and the poorer peasants and farmers, and of the petty-bourgeois class. In Italy, after the war and before 1922, we had a revolutionary wave of tremendous dimensions; the state was paralyzed, the police did not exist, the trade unions could do anything they wanted—but there was no party capable of taking the power. As a reaction came fascism.

In Germany the same. We had a revolutionary situation in 1918; the bourgeois class did not even ask to participate in the power. The Social Democrats paralyzed the revolution. Then the workers tried again in 1922-23-24. This was the time of the bankruptcy of the Communist Party—all of which we have gone into before. Then in 1929-30-31 the German workers began again a new revolutionary wave. There was a tremendous power in the communists and in the trade unions, but then came the famous policy of social fascism, a policy invented to paralyze the working class. Only after these three tremendous waves, did fascism become a big movement. There are no exceptions to this rule—fascism comes only when the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society.

In the United States you will have the same thing. Already there are fascist elements, and they have of course the examples of Italy and Germany. They will therefore work in a more rapid tempo. But you also have the examples of other countries. The next historic waves in the United States will be waves

of radicalism of the masses; not fascism. Of course the war can hinder the radicalization for some time but then it will give to the radicalization a more tremendous tempo and swing. The war cannot organically change developments but only retard them for some time—and then give them a push. War, as we have said before, is only the continuation of politics by other means. In this sense, I am sure you will have many possibilities to win the power in the United States before the fascists can become a dominant force.

We must not identify war dictatorship—the dictatorship of the military machine, of the staff, of finance capital—with fascist dictatorship. For the latter there is first necessary a feeling of desperation of large masses of the people. When the revolutionary parties betray them, when the vanguard of workers shows its incapacity to lead the people to victory—then the farmers, the small business men, the unemployed, the soldiers, etc., become capable of supporting a fascist movement, but only then.

A military dictatorship is purely a bureaucratic institution, reinforced by the military machine and based upon the disorientation of the people and their submission to it. After some time their feelings can change, and they can become rebellious against the military dictatorship.

Yes, the feeling against conscription in the United States could possibly become a point of departure for such a rebelliousness. Here is our opportunity to show the workers how the bourgeois class resolves its problems, and we could say: "You see, they now want to impose upon you a Prussian militarism, with its lack of regard for workers' lives." We could demand, possibly, the election of officers—and this can become a very good slogan. "Officers elected by the soldiers themselves."

*Question 3: What are the possibilities of building a self-sustaining economy in the Western Hemisphere?*

*Trotsky:* Not very good, especially during the war. During the war we will have a deepening of self-sustaining misery throughout the whole Western Hemisphere. The war is only the beginning—the results will remain for decades. Even Hitler, who now has Europe, and tomorrow will have Great Britain, has only hungry people. He must have the colonies, and that signifies the oceans—and that means a fight with the United States for the dominions of Great Britain. This would be a

long-term conflict, and after the German soldiers and sailors have been at war, they will return home to a country of misery, of famine and pestilence. These are Hitler's gains for the next years.

When the United States goes to war they will introduce a war economy. This means sacrificing everything for the army and war purposes—and misery for the population. How can there be a self-sustaining economy for the United States? In times of peace you have ten million unemployed—and this in a time of relative prosperity; during crises you have thirteen to fourteen million unemployed. Moreover you must export. To do this you must import. What? Products that will ruin your farmers, who are even now being supported artificially? No, there is no possibility. Instead, it is necessary to organize a kind of fascism—an organized control of the misery, because what is fascism except the organization of misery for the people? The New Deal tried to do it in a better way but did not succeed, because at that period you remained too rich for a fascist misery. However you will become poorer and poorer, and as a result the next New Deal will be in fascist form. The only solution carries the name of socialism.

The Pan American conference is probably the last spectacular form of convulsion of the Rooseveltian Good Neighbor policy.<sup>242</sup> The United States cannot enter a world war, or even make serious preparation for it without assuring first the full domination of the Latin American countries. Their real assurance is their American fleet and aircraft, so that the iron fist shows beneath the Good Neighbor policy. We saw that Argentina was a bit rebellious, but that was their last convulsion of independence. Washington will not permit such a rebellious attitude. The armies, of course, have a world purpose, but the immediate step is first directed to South America to teach them to obey. For the United States, Latin America is like Austria and Czechoslovakia were to Hitler—a springboard to the larger things.

As to whether the United States will take direct control over the Latin American countries, Canada, or let them remain under governors—*gauleiters*—we will see both! We will have various combinations in the next period, and Washington will name the terms.

*Question 4: In your opinion were there enough political differences between the majority and minority to warrant a split [in the Socialist Workers Party]?*

*Trotsky:* Here it is also necessary to consider the question dialectically, not mechanically. What does this terrible word "dialectics" mean? It means to consider things in their development, not in their static situation. If we take the political differences as they are, we can say they were not sufficient for a split, but if they developed a tendency to turn away from the proletariat in the direction of petty-bourgeois circles, then the same differences can have an absolutely different value, a different weight; if they are connected with a different social group. This is a very important point.

We have the fact that the minority split away from us, in spite of all the measures taken by the majority not to split. This signifies that their inner social feeling was such that it is impossible for them to go together with us. It is a petty-bourgeois tendency, not a proletarian. If you wish a new confirmation of this, we have an excellent example in the article of Dwight Macdonald.<sup>243</sup>

First of all, what characterizes a proletarian revolutionary? No one is obliged to participate in a revolutionary party, but if he does participate, he considers the party seriously. If we dare to call the people for a revolutionary change of society, we carry a tremendous responsibility, which we must consider very seriously. And what is our theory, but merely the tools of our action? These tools are our Marxist theory because up to today we have not found better tools. A worker is not fantastic about tools—if they are the best tools he can get he is careful with them; he does not abandon them or demand fantastic nonexistent tools.

Burnham is an intellectual snob. He picks up one party, abandons it, takes up another. A worker cannot do this. If he enters a revolutionary party, addresses the people, calls them for action, it is the same as a general during a war—he must know where he is leading them. What would you think of a general who said he thought the guns were bad—that it would be better to wait for ten years until they had invented better guns, so everybody had better go home. That is the way Burnham reasons. So he abandoned the party. But the unemployed remain, and the war remains. These things cannot be postponed. Therefore it is only Burnham who has postponed his action.

Dwight Macdonald is not a snob, but a bit stupid. I quote: "The intellectual, if he is to serve any useful function in society, must not deceive either himself or others, must not accept as good coin what he knows is counterfeit, must not forget in a moment of crisis what he has learned over a period of years

and decades." Good. Absolutely correct. I quote again: "Only if we meet the stormy and terrible years ahead with both scepticism and devotion—scepticism towards *all* theories, governments, and social systems; devotion to the revolutionary fight of the masses—only then can we justify ourselves as intellectuals."

Here is one of the leaders of the so-called "Workers" Party, who considers himself not a proletarian but an "intellectual." He speaks of scepticism toward all theories.

We have prepared ourselves for this crisis by studying, by building a scientific method, and our method is Marxism. Then the crisis comes and Mr. Macdonald says "be sceptical of all theories," and then talks about devotion to the revolution without replacing it with any new theory. Unless it is this sceptical theory of his own. How can we work without a theory? What is the fight of the masses and what is a revolutionary? The whole article is scandalous and a party which can tolerate such a man as one of its leaders is not serious.

I quote again: "What is the nature of the beast (fascism), then? Trotsky insists it is no more nor less than the familiar phenomenon of Bonapartism, in which a clique maintains itself in power by playing one class off against another, thus giving the state power a temporary autonomous character. But these modern totalitarian regimes are not temporary affairs; they have already changed the underlying economic and social structure, not only manipulating the old forms but also destroying their inner vitality. Is the Nazi bureaucracy a new ruling class, then, and fascism a new form of society, comparable to capitalism? That doesn't seem to be true either."

Here he creates a new theory, a new definition of fascism, but he wishes, nevertheless, that we should be sceptical toward all theories. So also to the workers he would say that the instruments and tools they work with are not important but they must have devotion to their work! I think the workers would find a very sharp expression for such a statement.

It is very characteristic of the disappointed intellectual. He sees the war, the terrible epoch ahead, with losses, with sacrifices, and he is afraid. He begins to propagate scepticism and still he believes it is possible to unify scepticism with revolutionary devotion. We can only develop a revolutionary devotion if we are sure it is rational and possible, and we cannot have such assurances without a working theory. He who propagates theoretical scepticism is a traitor.

We analyzed in fascism different elements.

1. The element which fascism has in common with the old Bonapartism is that it used the antagonisms of classes in order to give to the state power the greatest independence. But we have always underlined that the old Bonapartism was in a time of an ascending bourgeois society, while fascism is a state power of the declining bourgeois society.

2. That fascism is an attempt of the bourgeois class to overcome—to overstep, the contradiction between the new technique and private property without eliminating the private property. It is the "planned economy" of fascism. It is an attempt to save private property and at the same time to check private property.

3. To overstep the contradiction between the new, modern technique of productive forces within the limited borders of the national state. This new technique cannot be limited by the borders of the old national state and fascism attempts to overcome this contradiction. The result is the war. We have already analyzed all these elements.

Dwight Macdonald will abandon the party just as Burnham did, but possibly because he is a little lazier, it will come later.

Burnham was considered "good stuff" at one time? Yes, the proletarian party in our epoch must make use of every intellectual who can contribute to the party. I spent many months on Diego Rivera, to save him for our movement, but did not succeed. But every International has had an experience of this kind. The First International had troubles with the poet, Freiligrath, who was also very capricious. The Second and Third Internationals had trouble with Maxim Gorki. The Fourth International with Rivera. In every case they separated from us.

Burnham was, of course, closer to the movement, but Cannon had his doubts about him. He can write, and has some formal skill in thinking, not deep, but adroit. He can accept your idea, develop it, write a fine article about it—and then forget it. The author can forget—but the worker cannot. However, so long as we can use such people, well and good. Mussolini at one time was also "good stuff"!

## HOW TO DEFEND OURSELVES<sup>244</sup>

August 12, 1940

Dear Friend:

The Texas story is very important. The attitude of the people involved can become decisive from the legal point of view.

We, of course, cannot imitate the Stalinists who proclaim their absolute devotion to the bourgeois democracy. However, we do not wish to furnish any pretext for persecutions.

In this case, as in any others, we should speak the truth as it is; namely, the best, the most economical and favorable method for the masses would be to achieve the transformation of this society by democratic means. The democracy is also necessary for the organization and education of the masses. That is why we are always ready to defend the democratic rights of the people by our own means. However, we know on the basis of tremendous historical experience that the Sixty Families will never permit the democratic realization of socialist principles. At a given moment the Sixty Families will inevitably overthrow, or try to overthrow, the democratic institutions and replace them by a reactionary dictatorship. This is what happened in Italy, in Germany, and in the last days in France—not to mention the lesser countries. We say in advance that we are ready to reject such an attempt with arms in hands, and crush the fascist dictatorship by a proletarian dictatorship.

This position corresponds to the historical reality and is juridically unattackable.

Fraternally,  
L. Trotsky

## HOW TO REALLY DEFEND DEMOCRACY<sup>245</sup>

August 13, 1940

Dear Friends:

We should, in my opinion, fortify and deepen our campaign against the pacifist tendencies, prejudices, and falsehoods.

The liberals and democrats say: "We must help the democracies by all means except direct military intervention in Europe." Why this stupid and hypocritical limitation? If democracy is to be defended, we should defend it also on European soil; the more so as this is the best way to defend democracy in America. To help England—to crush Hitler—by all means including military intervention, would signify the best way to defend "American democracy." The purely geographical limitation has neither political nor military sense.

That which we workers find worth defending, we are ready to defend by military means—in Europe as well as in the United States. It is the only possibility we have of assuring the defense of civil liberties and other good things in America.

But we categorically refuse to defend civil liberties and democracy in the French manner; the workers and farmers to give their flesh and blood while the capitalists concentrate in their hands the command. The Petain experiment should now form the center of our war propaganda. It is important, of course, to explain to the advanced workers that the genuine fight against fascism is the socialist revolution. But it is more urgent, more imperative, to explain to the millions of American workers that the defense of their "democracy" cannot be delivered over to an American Marshal Petain—and there are many candidates for such a role.

Carl O'Shea's article in the *Socialist Appeal* of August 10 is very good. We can, in this manner, develop a very effective campaign against William Green as well as against John L.

Lewis, who flatly reject conscription in favor of a voluntary slave army.

The Institute of Public Opinion established that over 70 percent of the workers are in favor of conscription. It is a fact of tremendous importance! Workers take every question seriously. If the fatherland should be defended, then the defense cannot be abandoned to the arbitrary will of individuals. It should be a common attitude. This realistic conception shows how right we were in rejecting beforehand purely negative pacifist or semi-pacifist attitudes. We place ourselves on the same ground as the 70 percent of the workers—against Green and Lewis—and on this premise we begin to develop a campaign in order to oppose the workers to their exploiters in the military field. You, workers, wish to defend and improve democracy. We, of the Fourth International, wish to go further. However, we are ready to defend democracy with you, only on condition that it should be a real defense, and not a betrayal in the Petain manner.

On this road I am sure we can make some progress.

Fraternally,  
L. Trotsky

## A LETTER TO C. CHARLES<sup>246</sup>

August 16, 1940

Dear Friend Charles:

Everything has been received. I will use your testimony only in case of real necessity, but in such a case it would be extremely helpful.

The bullet-proof vest has been piously admired by everyone. We have not yet decided upon what occasion we will wear it. In any case it can be used on trips. On the other hand I doubt if it would be comfortable enough as a protection during sleep.

The siren provoked even more admiration. It is wonderful enough just in appearance. We have not yet tried it out because we do not wish to provoke some supplementary "zafaranchos" (clearing for action); for we are told that this siren can be heard from here to Los Angeles. I, personally, consider this an exaggeration.

We had a talk with Comrade T, and his sister, both of whom produced a good impression. We will have some more talks with them.

More than two and a half months of my time has been almost exclusively devoted to the investigation (of the May 24 assault). Tomorrow I shall present to the judge a very large memorandum about the Mexican Stalinists, the GPU, and the financial aid to the Moscow agents, with affidavits from Ben Gitlow, Joseph Zack, Walter Krivitsky, and Albert Goldman.<sup>247</sup> I hope this memorandum will not fail to have its effect. And now I hope to be able to go back to my book.

Our warmest thanks for the exceptional gifts and our fraternal greetings.

L. Trotsky



Jean van Heijenoort, one of Trotsky's  
secretary-guards.

## ON DEWEY'S PHILOSOPHY<sup>248</sup>

**August 16, 1940**

I completely agree with your idea about the necessity of giving a Marxist criticism of Dewey's philosophy and I believe it is your direct duty to do this job.

With best wishes and warmest greetings,

L. Trotsky

## THE COMINTERN AND THE GPU<sup>249</sup>

### The Attempted Assassination of May 24 and the Communist Party

August 17, 1940

#### Political Premises

This document pursues aims which are juridical and not political. But the criminal acts of the members of the so-called "Communist" Party of Mexico derive from political motives. The attempt of May 24 was an attempt of political character. That is why the mechanics of this crime, and all the more so the motives inspiring its participants cannot be understood without laying bare, if only in summary form, the political subsoil of the attempt.

There is no doubt now in public opinion that this attempt was organized by the GPU, the principal organ of Stalin's rule. The Kremlin oligarchy is *totalitarian* in character, i.e., subjugates to itself all functions of the country's social, political, and ideological life and crushes the slightest manifestations of criticism and independent opinion. The totalitarian character of the Kremlin's politics does not flow from Stalin's personal character but from the position occupied by the new ruling stratum before the face of the people. The October Revolution pursued two intimately related tasks: first, the socialization of the means of production, and the raising, through planned economy, of the country's economic level; second, the building on this foundation of a society without class distinctions, and consequently without a professional bureaucracy — a socialist society administered by its members as a whole. The first task in its basic outlines has been realized; despite the influence of bureaucratism, the superiority of planned economy has revealed itself with indisputable force. It is otherwise with the social regime. Instead of approaching socialism it moves ever further away. Because of historical causes, which cannot properly be dealt with here, there has developed on the foundation of the October Revolution a new privileged caste which concentrates in its hands all power and which devours an ever greater portion of the national income. This caste finds itself in a profoundly contradictory position. In words it comes

forward in the name of communism; in deeds it fights for its own unlimited power and colossal material privileges. Surrounded by the mistrust and hatred of the deceived masses, the new aristocracy cannot afford the tiniest breach in its system. In the interests of self-preservation it is compelled to strangle the least flicker of criticism and opposition. Hence the suffocating tyranny, the universal groveling before the "leader" and the not less universal hypocrisy; from the same source flows the gigantic role of the GPU as the instrument of totalitarian rule.

Stalin's absolutism does not rest on the traditional authority of "divine grace," nor on "sacred" and "inviolable" private property, but on the idea of communist equality. This deprives the oligarchy of a possibility of justifying its dictatorship with any kind of rational and persuasive arguments. Similarly it cannot refer in self-justification to the "transitional" character of its regime because it is not a question of *why equality hasn't been completely realized* but *why inequality is growing continually*. The ruling caste is compelled systematically to lie, to paint itself up, don a mask, and ascribe to critics and opponents motives diametrically opposite to those impelling them. Anyone who comes out in defense of the toilers against the oligarchy is immediately branded by the Kremlin as a supporter of capitalist restoration. This standardized lie is not accidental: it flows from the objective position of the caste which incarnates reaction while swearing by the revolution. In all previous revolutions the new privileged class tried to shield itself against criticism from the left by means of fake revolutionary phraseology. The Thermidoreans and Bonapartists of the Great French Revolution hounded and condemned all genuine revolutionists—the Jacobins—as "royalists" and agents of Pitt's reactionary British government.<sup>250</sup> Stalin hasn't invented anything new. He has only carried the system of political frame-up to its extreme expression. Lies, slander, persecution, false accusations, juridical comedies flow inexorably from the position of the usurping bureaucracy in Soviet society. Unless this is understood it is impossible to understand either the internal politics of the USSR or the role of the GPU on the international arena.

Lenin proposed in his testament (January 1923) to remove Stalin from the post of general secretary of the party, giving as his reasons Stalin's rudeness, disloyalty, and tendency to abuse power. Two years earlier Lenin warned: "This cook will prepare only peppery dishes." No one in the party liked or respected Stalin. But when the bureaucracy began to sense acutely the danger threatening it from the people, it required

precisely a rude and disloyal leader, ready to abuse power in its interests. That is why the cook of peppery dishes became the leader of the totalitarian bureaucracy.

The Moscow oligarchy's hatred of me is engendered by its deep-rooted conviction that I "betrayed" it. This accusation has a historical meaning of its own. The Soviet bureaucracy did not elevate Stalin to leadership at once and without vacillation. Until 1924 Stalin was unknown even among the broader party circles, let alone the population, and as I have already said he did not enjoy popularity in the ranks of the bureaucracy itself. The new ruling stratum had hopes that I would undertake to defend its privileges. No few efforts were expended in this direction. Only after the bureaucracy became convinced that I did not intend to defend its interests against the toilers, but on the contrary the interests of the toilers against the new aristocracy, was the complete turn toward Stalin made, and I was proclaimed "traitor." This epithet on the lips of the privileged caste constitutes evidence of my loyalty to the cause of the working class. It is not accidental that 90 percent of those revolutionists who built the Bolshevik Party, made the October Revolution, created the Soviet state and the Red Army, and led the civil war were destroyed as "traitors" in the course of the past twelve years. On the other hand the Stalinist apparatus has taken into its ranks during this period people the overwhelming majority of whom stood on the other side of the barricades in the years of the revolution.

The Communist International suffered a similar degeneration during that period. In the initial stages of the Soviet regime, when the revolution marched from one danger to another, when all energies were absorbed by the civil war with its retinue of famine and epidemics, the boldest and most unselfish revolutionists in different countries joined the October Revolution and the Communist International. Of this original revolutionary layer that proved in action its loyalty to the October Revolution during those difficult years there does not now remain, literally, a single man. Through interminable expulsions, economic pressure, direct bribery, purges, and executions the totalitarian Kremlin clique has transformed the Comintern completely into its obedient tool. The present leading tier of the Comintern, as well as of its constituent sections, comprises people who did not join the October Revolution but the triumphant oligarchy, the fountainhead of high political titles and material boons.

The predominating type among the present "communist" bureaucrats is the political careerist, and in consequence the

polar opposite of the revolutionist. Their ideal is to attain in their own country the same position that the Kremlin oligarchy gained in the USSR. They are not the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat but aspirants to totalitarian rule. They dream of gaining success with the aid of this same Soviet bureaucracy and its GPU. They view with admiration and envy the invasion of Poland, Finland, the Baltic states, Bessarabia by the Red Army, because these invasions immediately bring about the transfer of power into the hands of the local Stalinist candidates for totalitarian rule.

Lacking independent stature, independent ideas, independent influence, the leaders of the sections of the Comintern are only too well aware that their positions and reputations stand and fall with the position and reputation of the Kremlin. In the material sense, as will be later shown, they live on the hand-outs of the GPU. Their struggle for existence resolves itself therefore into a rabid defense of the Kremlin against any and all opposition. They cannot fail to sense the correctness and therefore the danger of the criticism which comes from the so-called Trotskyists. But this only redoubles their hatred of me and my co-thinkers. Like their Kremlin masters, the leaders of the Communist parties are unable to criticize the real ideas of the Fourth International and are forced to resort to falsifications and frame-ups which are exported from Moscow in unlimited quantities. There is thus nothing "national" in the conduct of the Mexican Stalinists: they merely translate into Spanish the policies of Stalin and the orders of the GPU.

### **The GPU as Organizer of the Attempt**

To the uninitiated it may seem incomprehensible that Stalin's clique should have first exiled me and then should attempt to kill me abroad. Wouldn't it have been simpler to have shot me in Moscow like so many others?

The explanation is this: In 1928 when I was expelled from the party and exiled to Central Asia it was still impossible even to talk not only about shooting but arrest. The generation together with whom I went through the October Revolution and the civil war was then still alive. The Political Bureau felt itself besieged from all sides.

From Central Asia I was able to maintain direct contact with the Opposition. In these conditions Stalin, after vacillating for one year, decided to resort to exile abroad as the lesser evil. He reasoned that Trotsky, isolated from the USSR, deprived of an apparatus and of material resources, would be power-

less to undertake anything. Moreover, Stalin calculated that after he had succeeded in completely blackening me in the eyes of the country, he could without difficulty obtain from the friendly Turkish government my return to Moscow for the final reckoning. Events have shown, however, that it is possible to participate in political life without possessing either an apparatus or material resources. With the aid of young friends I laid the foundations of the Fourth International, which is forging ahead slowly but stubbornly. The Moscow trials of 1936-37 were staged in order to obtain my deportation from Norway, i.e., actually to hand me over into the hands of the GPU. But this did not succeed. I arrived in Mexico. I am informed that Stalin has several times admitted that my exile abroad was a "major mistake." No other way remained of rectifying the mistake except through a terrorist act.

In recent years the GPU has destroyed many hundreds of my friends, including members of my family in the USSR. In Spain they killed my former secretary Erwin Wolf and a number of my political co-thinkers; in Paris they killed my son Leon Sedov whom Stalin's professional murderers hunted for two years. In Lausanne the GPU killed Ignace Reiss, who had left the GPU and joined the Fourth International. In Paris, Stalin's agents murdered another of my former secretaries, Rudolf Klement, whose body was found in the Seine with the head, hands, and legs cut off. This list could be continued interminably.

In Mexico there was an obvious attempt to assassinate me by an individual who appeared in my house with fake recommendations from a prominent political figure. It was after this incident, which alarmed my friends, that more serious measures of defense were undertaken: day and night guard, alarm system, etc.

After the active and truly murderous participation of the GPU in the Spanish events, I received many letters from my friends, chiefly in New York and Paris, concerning agents of the GPU who were being sent into Mexico from France and the United States. The names and photographs of some of these gentlemen were transmitted by me in time to the Mexican police. The outbreak of the war aggravated the situation still further because of my irreconcilable struggle against the foreign and domestic policy of the Kremlin. My declarations and articles in the world press—on the dismemberment of Poland, the invasion of Finland, the weakness of the Red Army beheaded by Stalin, etc.—were reproduced in all countries of the world in tens of millions of copies. Dissatisfaction inside the

USSR is growing. The Third International was incomparably weaker at the beginning of the last war than the Fourth International is today.

On August 25, 1939, just before the break of diplomatic relations between France and Germany, the French ambassador Coulondre reported to G. Bonnet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, his dramatic interview with Adolph Hitler at 5:30 p.m.:

"'If I really think' — I observed — 'that we will be victorious, I also have the fear that at the end of the war there will be only one real victor: Mr. Trotsky.'

"Interrupting me, the Chancellor shouted: 'Then why have you given Poland free rein?'" (Diplomatic Documents, 1938-1939, p. 260, Document no. 242)

Two authoritative representatives of two imperialist powers, democratic and fascist, in the critical moment just prior to the war, seek to frighten each other with the name of a revolutionist whom the agents of the GPU have been trying in vain to blacken for a number of years as an "agent of imperialism." I could adduce other evidence of the same sort. But this is hardly necessary. Hitler and Coulondre are at all events expert politicians much more serious than David Siqueiros and Lombardo Toledano.

As a former revolutionist Stalin understands that the course of the war must provide a mighty impulse to the development of the Fourth International, in the USSR as well. That is why Stalin issued an order to his agents: Get rid of Trotsky as quickly as possible.

Facts known to everyone and general political considerations thus indubitably demonstrate that the organization of the attempt of May 24 could emanate only from the GPU. There is, however, no lack of supplementary evidence.

1. A few weeks before the attempt the Mexican press was filled with rumors of a concentration of GPU agents in Mexico. A great many things in these reports were false. But the substance of these rumors was correct.

2. Very noteworthy is the exceptionally high technique of the assault. The assassination failed because of one of those accidents which enter as an integral element into every war. But the preparation and execution of the assault are astonishing in their scope, planning, and efficiency. The terrorists are familiar with the layout of the house and its internal life; they are equipped with police uniforms, weapons, electric saw, rope ladders, etc. They succeed completely in tying up the police stationed outside, they paralyze the guards inside by a correct

strategy of fire, they penetrate into the intended victim's room, fire with impunity for three to five minutes, throw incendiary bombs, and leave the arena of attack without a trace. Such an undertaking is beyond the resources of a private group. There is to be observed here tradition, training, great resources, and a wide selection of executors. This is the work of the GPU.

3. Strictly in accordance with the whole system of the GPU is the solicitude for switching the investigation to a false track which was included in the very plan of the assault. While tying up the police, the assailants shouted: "Viva Almazan!" These artificial and fraudulent shouts at night before five policemen, three of whom were asleep, pursued simultaneously two objectives: to distract, if only for a few days or hours, the attention of the coming investigation away from the GPU and its agency in Mexico; and to compromise the followers of one of the presidential candidates. To kill one opponent while casting the shadow of suspicion on another—that is the classic method of the GPU, more exactly of its inspirer, Stalin.

4. The attackers brought along several incendiary bombs, two of which were thrown into my grandson's room. The participants in the assault thus had in view not only murder but also arson. Their only goal could have been the destruction of my archives. This is of interest only to Stalin, inasmuch as my archives are of exceptional value to me in the struggle against the Moscow oligarchy. With the aid of my archives I was able, in particular, to expose the Moscow juridical frame-ups. On November 7, 1936, the GPU, incurring great risks, had already stolen part of my archives in Paris. It did not forget about them on the night of May 24. The incendiary bombs are thus something like Stalin's visiting card.

5. Extremely characteristic of the crimes of the GPU is the division of labor between the secret killers and the legal "friends": while the assault was being prepared, along with the underground work of conspiracy, there was conducted an open slanderous campaign aimed to discredit the intended victim. The same division of labor continues after the perpetration of the crime: the terrorists go into hiding while their attorneys, out in the open, attempt to direct the attention of the police to a false trail.

6. Finally, it is impossible not to call attention to the reactions of the world press: newspapers of all tendencies proceed openly or tacitly from the fact that the assault is the handiwork of the GPU; only the newspapers subsidized by the Kremlin and fulfilling its orders defend an opposite version. This is an irrefutable piece of political evidence!

7. The most important and convincing proof, however, that the attempt was organized by the GPU is the fact that all the accomplices in the attempt are either members of the Communist Party or its closest "friends," and furthermore the most prominent among them held commanding posts in those sections of the Spanish army which were under the direct command of the GPU ("The Fifth Regiment" and "The International Brigades").

### **Why I Was Certain There Would Be an Attempt**

Just why did I expect an attempt with such certainty since the beginning of this year? Replying in court on July 2 to this question of Mr. Pavon Flores, the defense attorney, I referred in particular to the convention of the Communist Party of Mexico which took place in March of this year and which proclaimed its orientation toward the extermination of "Trotskyism." In order that my answer be further clarified, I must supply additional explanatory facts.

Inasmuch as the practical preparation for the attempt began in January of this year and inasmuch as a certain interval was required for preliminary discussions and elaboration of the plan, it may be stated with certainty that the "order" for the attempt arrived in Mexico not later than November or December 1939.

As can be seen from *La Voz de Mexico* the crisis in the party leadership dates back precisely to this period. The impulse for the crisis came from outside the party, and the crisis itself developed from the top down. It is not known who elaborated the special document, the so-called "Materials for Discussion," which was published in *La Voz de Mexico* on January 28 and which constituted an anonymous indictment of the old leadership (Laborde, Campa, et al.), who were allegedly guilty of a "conciliatory" attitude toward Trotskyism. Broad public opinion was completely in the dark at the time as to just what was behind all this. But to the initiated and interested observers it was indubitable that some new serious blow was in preparation, if not against "Trotskyism," then against Trotsky.

Today it is absolutely self-evident that the overturn in the Communist Party was intimately connected with the order for the attempt issued in Moscow. What happened most probably is that the GPU encountered some opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party who had become accustomed to a peaceful existence and might have feared very unpleasant

political and police consequences from the attempt. Perhaps this is the source of the charge of "Trotskyism" against them. Whoever objects to an attempt against Trotsky is, obviously, a—"Trotskyist."

The anonymous "Purging Commission" removed Laborde, the leader of the Communist Party, and together with him, the Central Committee elected at the previous convention. Who invested the purging committee with such immense powers? Whence came the committee itself? It could not have originated through spontaneous generation. It was appointed by persons who received their plenipotentiary powers from the outside. These persons obviously had every reason for concealing their names.

Only on February 18, after the change was already accomplished and the only thing remaining was to sanction it, was the composition of the new commission, consisting solely of Mexicans, made public, and again without any indication as to who appointed them. By the time the party convention was called on March 21, all the questions had already been decided, and the only thing left for the delegates was an oath of loyalty to the new leadership which had been created without them and for purposes unknown to the majority.

As appears from the report of the convention in *La Voz de Mexico* (March 18, 1940), the discussion on the question of "the struggle against Trotskyism and other enemies of the people" took place not at an open session of the convention, as was the case with other questions on the agenda, but at a *secret session of a special commission*. This fact alone is evidence that the new leaders found it necessary to hide their plans even from a convention of their own party. I do not know who composed the secret commission. But it is possible to surmise who directed it from behind the scenes.

The convention elected, or rather passively approved, an "honorary presidium" composed of Dimitrov, Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Thaelmann, Carlos Contreras and others.<sup>251</sup> The composition of this honorary presidium was published in a pamphlet, *Fuera Imperialismo!* by Dionisio Encina (Popular Edition, 1940, p. 5). Dimitrov, Manuilsky, Kuusinen are in Moscow, Thaelmann is in a jail in Berlin, while Carlos Contreras is in Mexico. His inclusion in the honorary presidium could not have been accidental. Contreras does not in any case belong among the number of the so-called international "chiefs" whose inclusion in an honorary presidium is of a ritualistic character.

Contreras first gained sinister notoriety during the Spanish

Civil War, where as the commissar and commander of the Fifth Regiment he was one of the most cruel agents of the GPU. Lister, Contreras, and "El Campesino" waged a "civil war" of their own inside the republican camp, physically destroying the opponents of Stalin in the ranks of the anarchists, socialists, POUMists, and Trotskyists. This fact can be corroborated by press dispatches and by testimony of many Spanish refugees. It would not therefore be too audacious to assume that the former commissar of the Fifth Regiment and member of the convention's "honorary" presidium was one of the important levers in changing the leadership of the Communist Party at the beginning of this year. This supposition is all the more justified since Contreras has already conducted one "anti-Trotskyist" purge in the Mexican Communist Party, namely in 1929. True enough, Contreras denies his participation in the assault. But in that case, why was he elected to the honorary presidium of the convention which is linked with the conspiracy?

When I followed in the press the happenings in the Communist Party during the early months of this year, I was far from seeing the situation with the same clarity as I do now. But even at that time it was evident to me that behind the official party screen, with its shadow pantomime, was hidden the movement of real figures. In this performance the real figures are agents of the GPU. That is why I expected an attempt.

### **The "Moral" Preparation for the Attempt**

The original sketch of the plan to develop a "mass" movement for the expulsion of Trotsky from Mexico suffered complete failure. The GPU had to resort to a terrorist act. But it was indispensable to prepare public opinion for this deed. Since the GPU was not prepared to acknowledge its sponsorship of the murder, it was indispensable to link the terrorist act with the internal political struggle in Mexico. *La Voz de Mexico*, *El Popular*, and *Futuro* had even earlier attempted to link me up with General Cidillo, with General Amaro, with Vasconcelos, with one Dr. Atl, not to mention the oil magnates and the Dies Committee. They now received orders to multiply their efforts in this direction. The presidential campaign with its prospect of sharp conflicts appeared to provide the most favorable situation for such efforts. The intellectual accomplices of the attempt enrolled me in the camp of General Almazan, which did not restrain them from ascribing later on the or-

ganization of the attempt to followers of Almazan. These people are guided in their activity by the precept which was applied by Stalin before it was formulated by Hitler: "the grosser the lie the more readily people believe it."

The "moral" preparation of the attempt began simultaneously with the technical preparation. The intensification of the drive against "Trotskyism" became evident in December of last year. In the December 24 issue of *La Voz de Mexico*, in an article, "The Role of Trotskyism," we read:

"... As for the new pontiff, Leon XXX — in view of the thirty pieces of silver of the dirtied Judas—he has carried out his role in the part elaborated for him by the Dies Committee. . . . Leon XXX intervenes in the affairs of Latin America on the side of the imperialist powers and completes his work declaring that 'the oil expropriation was the work of the Communists' . . . ." (by Gonzalo Beltran)

The words "the oil expropriation was the work of the Communists" are set off with quotation marks, as though they represented a citation from some article of mine, which would represent me as opposed to the expropriation of the oil companies. Needless to say this is a lie. To the best of my ability I defended in the world press the right of the Mexican people to be masters of their own natural resources. But the falsifiers of the GPU are not deterred by such bagatelles.

In his report to the March convention, Andres Garcia Salgado, member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, broke all records in lying set by international Stalinism. Despite one's natural repugnance, let me cite a few instances:

"... The Cardenas government permitted the entrance of Trotsky against the opinion expressed by the workers' organizations; this fact which permitted Trotsky to install in our country the directing center of his international organization of espionage in the service of all the counterrevolutionary forces, was possible solely thanks to the interest that the imperialist countries themselves had in making our country a center for their activities of espionage and provocation."

Ignorant as these people are, they cannot but know that not a single imperialist country will admit me within its borders; that the leaders of imperialism in all countries look upon me as enemy number one; that my co-thinkers are persecuted in all imperialist countries; that Mexico has extended hospitality to me precisely because it is not an imperialist country and because its government has a serious attitude toward the right of asylum. But the falsifiers engaged in the preparation

of the attempt have no time to pause over such trifles. Mr. Salgado continues:

"Thus the Trotskyist spies always collaborated with Franco's army, coordinating their uprisings and agitation in the loyalist rearguard with the operations of the enemy.

"Trotsky, the man applauded by the bosses of Monterrey, he who facilitated all the arguments of the oil companies against the workers' organizations and against the government, orients his work in accord with the plans of the reactionaries and the necessities of imperialism.

"Comrades: Let this serve us as an example in order to reinforce our struggle against Trotskyism and because the chief of this band of spies should be thrown out of our country" (*"Throw the Enemies of the People out of the Revolutionary Ranks"*).

Such is the report of a "leader" at the convention of a "Communist" Party! Into what a cesspool has the Kremlin oligarchy converted what was once the Communist International! By dint of natural and artificial selection the place of revolutionists has been gradually taken by careerists, scoundrels, and professional slanderers. To this group also belongs Mr. Salgado. In *La Voz de Mexico*, May 1, 1940, in which complete liberty of action is demanded for D. Siqueiros, whom the police were after, an official manifesto of the party is published, directed to the people, which reads:

"Throw the imperialist agents out of Mexico! Alien spies and provocateurs must be thrown out of the country and in the first place its most ominous and dangerous chief: Leon Trotsky. . . ."

Defending D. Siqueiros against the Mexican government and at the same time demanding of this same government repressions against Trotsky; all this three weeks prior to the attempt—what is this if not its preparation?

On May 19, 1940, five days before the attempt, we find in *La Voz de Mexico* an article, in which calculated frenzy reaches a paroxysm:

"Trotsky, the 'old traitor' as comrade Lombardo Toledano once qualified him on a certain occasion, demonstrates to us, every time he is able, that the older he grows, the more curlike and cynical he becomes" (*"The Traitor Trotsky"*).

"Spy in the pay of the reactionary forces, agent of the Dies Committee in Mexico. . . . the responsibility of Trotsky in the conspiracy which the traitors to Mexico, agents of the imperialist companies and of the Dies Committee. . . .

"Trotsky must answer before the authorities of the country

for his anti-proletarian and anti-Mexican doings and cease his idiocies.

"Lately the traitor, dreaming perhaps of reviving the days in which he could organize his own trial, judge himself through his friends in Diego Rivera's house, now launches a challenge that a tribunal examine the charges that are launched against him of being an agent of the Dies Committee, which he confessed through his own public declarations.

"It is clear that Trotsky seeks a tribune in order to pursue his nefarious activity against the workers of Mexico. But the people will not give him this tribune.

"With respect to Trotsky the workers of Mexico have already pronounced their opinion in the sense that he must be expelled from the country."

It would not have been at all astonishing if the article had borne the collective signature: David Siqueiros, Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, Luis Arenal, David Serrano, Mario Pavon Flores.

In another article in the same issue it is stated that Trotsky is preparing to "Support the provocateurs and assassins, anxious to intervene in the internal affairs of Mexico. . ." Farther on:

"In regard to Trotsky, we are reminded that this scoundrelly traitor has just launched a challenge that *El Popular* and the magazine *Futuro* present within seventy-two hours their accusations—which are those of the whole revolutionary movement, in Mexico and the world—against the senile little head of the 'Fourth International.' What a slippery fish is the little old traitor! He knows very well that in seventy-two hours the list could scarcely be begun of his felonies, of his crimes, of his complicities with the enemies of all the peoples, beginning with those of the USSR, China, and Spain."

The last issue of *La Voz de Mexico prior to the attempt* is devoted as we have seen principally to hounding Trotsky and represents a monstrous accumulation of accusations and slanders. This is the way people write who are preparing to change the pen for a machinegun. The editorial board of *La Voz de Mexico* knew of the impending attempt and was preparing the public opinion of its own party and the sympathizing circles.

It is impossible to admit even for a moment that the editors of *La Voz de Mexico*, of age and not mad, believed what they wrote about me. They lie coldly, on orders from above. And they reveal their malice doubly by adding to the slanders they receive ready-made from Moscow their own inventions

about my "participation" in Cedillo's uprising, my "alliance" with Dies against Mexico, or my participation in the election campaign. The liars refuse to supply proof on the pretext that they do not wish to provide me with a . . . "tribune" or give me . . . "publicity." And when I call them the hirelings of Stalin they threaten to put me in jail for "defamation"!

This is the school of Stalinism. Ideological cynicism and moral shamelessness are its fundamental features. These people have no respect whatever for facts and documents; they never formulate their accusations clearly and definitively; their slander bears the character of a spreading stain. From the USSR, where no one dares contradict Stalin or his colleagues, the spirit of servility, groveling and cynicism has spread over the whole Comintern, poisoning the labor movement to the marrow.

### Covering Up the Traces of the GPU

The first few days after the attempt the Messrs. Inspirers hid in their lairs. They were afraid that their "military" colleagues might fall into the hands of the police. The insinuations of the GPU press were at first very cautious. But each new day brought these gentlemen courage. Through scores of channels they placed in circulation the stupid and vile version of "self-assault." Until the end of May, the police, side-tracked by the moral accomplices in the crime, were unable, as is well known, to get on the track of the criminals. In the Stalinist circles spirits became brighter. In the June 1 issue of *La Voz de Mexico* the attempt is already referred to as "this grotesque farce."

"The events which have occurred recently in Mexico, cleverly carried out by the miserable Trotsky and his band, place acutely in relief all the characteristics of provocation which they contain. . . .

"Trotsky is an agent delivered body and soul to international capitalism which he has served as a tool, dedicated to the service of its interests. And in this case he did not find it inconvenient to do it one more service with the 'assault' of which he was the object in the mansion where he lives."

Why this amazing enterprise was required by "capitalism" and Trotsky himself, the newspaper does not explain. "The grosser the lie," reads the precept of Hitler-Stalin, "the more readily people believe it."

*La Voz de Mexico* strives with might and main to estab-

lish an alibi for the Communist Party. This is comprehensible to the human mind. But the paper does not stop there, it also takes up the defense of the GPU.

"... The provocation in which Trotsky himself is directly inculpated has moreover the characteristics of an *anti-soviet* provocation" (June 10, 1940).

Evidently! By means of the "self-assault," Trotsky tried to compromise the immaculate purity of the GPU.

In the same number, the editors declare:

"We have received some declarations of the Mexican Section of the Society of Veterans of the Spanish Republic in which they state that the 'attempt' against the counterrevolutionary Leon Trotsky is a vulgar maneuver of reaction and imperialism against the Mexican people."

The chairman of the Mexican section of this society is none other than David Alfaro Siqueiros! The organizer of the attempt protested against "a vulgar maneuver of reaction". The editors completely betray themselves here. To prove their alibi, they are compelled to demonstrate that the GPU from which they cannot dissociate themselves was not implicated in the case. And in order to prove my "self-assault," they find it necessary to refer to the high authority of D. A. Siqueiros. In all this there is an element of the insane asylum. Insolence and impudence easily reach the border of insanity. But in this insanity there is a method, indissolubly linked with the name of the GPU.

Presenting the impartial testimony of Siqueiros, *La Voz de Mexico* writes for its part:

"Trotsky . . . is one of the principal inspirers of the fifth column, a point of support for Mexican reaction and Yankee imperialism, a paid agent of the worst butchers of the Mexican people."

Fear speaks here in hydrophobic language. These people are afraid that they will have to answer for the attempt of May 24.

There is no need to analyze issue after issue in this contemptible Stalinist publication, squirming between the Mexican police and the GPU. The conduct of *La Voz de Mexico* during the critical weeks shows incontrovertibly that its directors were well aware from the first that the attempt was organized by Stalin's agency. They knew of D. Siqueiros's role in the attempt. They knew that Robert Harte was not an accomplice in the attempt, but its victim. Creating the theory of self-assault and sowing slanders against Harte they acted

in the interests of the GPU and at the same time in their own interests.

The conclusion is self-evident: If an official organ of the GPU had been issued in Mexico it could not have conducted the preparation of the attempt and then covered up the traces of the attempt with greater zeal and shamelessness than did *La Voz de Mexico*.

### **The Theory of "Self-Assault"**

From the first day of my arrival in Mexico (January 1937) the police have taken special measures to protect me from possible attempts. The authorities without doubt must have had serious reasons for this. The police guarded me, one should think, not against the Dies Committee which did not exist as yet in 1937; nor against the "followers of Almazan"; nor against "self-assault." To the question—against whom did the Mexican police guard me in the course of three and a half years prior to the attempt of May 24? only one rational answer is possible: against the GPU.

Yet when the attempt did actually take place, and moreover in a way that revealed all the features of Stalin's secret police, a certain section of the Mexican press (*La Voz de Mexico*, and its echoes, *El Popular* and *Futuro*) launched a campaign intended to prove that the GPU had nothing to do with it. Only the disciplined insolence of the agents of the GPU could have invested the absurd idea of "self-assault" with a semblance of verisimilitude.

What aim could I pursue in venturing on so monstrous, repugnant, and dangerous an enterprise? No one has explained it to this day. It is hinted that I wanted to blacken Stalin and his GPU. But would another assault add anything at all to the reputation of a man who has destroyed an entire old generation of the Bolshevik Party? It is said that I want to prove the existence of the "Fifth Column." Why? What for? Besides, GPU agents are quite sufficient for the perpetration of an assault; there is no need of the mysterious Fifth Column. It is said that I wanted to create difficulties for the Mexican government. What possible motives could I have for creating difficulties for the only government that has been hospitable to me? It is said that I wanted to provoke a war between the United States and Mexico. But this explanation completely belongs to the domain of delirium. In order to provoke such a war it would have been in any case much more expedient

to have organized an assault on an American ambassador or on oil magnates and not a revolutionist-Bolshevik, alien and hateful to imperialist circles.

When Stalin organizes an attempt to assassinate me, the meaning of his actions is clear: he wants to destroy his enemy number one. Stalin incurs no risks thereby; he acts at long distance. On the contrary, by organizing "self-assault" I have to assume the responsibility for such an enterprise myself; I risk my own fate, the fate of my family, my political reputation, and the reputation of the movement which I serve. What do I stand to gain from it?

But even if one were to allow the impossible, namely, that after renouncing the cause of my whole life, and trampling underfoot common sense and my own vital interests, I did decide to organize "self-assault" for the sake of some unknown goal, then there still remains the following question: Where and how did I obtain twenty executors? how did I supply them with police uniforms? how did I arm them? how did I equip them with all the necessary things? etc., etc. In other words, just how did a man, who lives almost completely isolated from the outside world, contrive to fulfill an enterprise conceivable only for a powerful apparatus? Let me confess that I feel awkward in subjecting to criticism an idea that is beneath all criticism.

### **Stalin's Agents Are Preparing to Proclaim Siqueiros ... Trotsky's Agent**

The leaders of the Communist Party are now engaged in complicated maneuvers around the person of Siqueiros. The aim of these maneuvers is to sacrifice Siqueiros, discredit me and save themselves. However, the results of such an over-complicated intrigue can prove just the opposite of what the GPU strategists expect.

The maneuver was initiated by David Serrano, member of the Political Bureau, and consequently one of the official leaders of the Communist Party. On June 19 his declarations were reported as follows in the press:

"He said that immediately after the event in Coyoacan, the Communist Party had made an investigation in order to discover what had occurred. And that since then this investigation had turned on Alfaro Siqueiros, uncontrolled element who was considered half mad. . . . And that since then they had had suspicions of Alfaro Siqueiros, with whom one Blanco

and Antonio Pujol, his disciple and personal assistant, constantly appeared."

Such a denunciation of closest co-thinkers, accomplices in the attempt, would have been absolutely impossible in the ranks of a revolutionary party. But among the Stalinists the rule is, "*salus GPU suprema lex.*" In referring to Siqueiros as "an uncontrolled and half mad element," D. Serrano is seeking to distract attention away from the Kremlin and from himself.

On June 23 when the general character of the assault and the names of the chief participants had already been revealed, *La Voz de Mexico* published the following declaration by the Communist Party:

"Numerous persons appear directly and indirectly implicated, among them David Alfaro Siqueiros, named as the leader of the attack. . . . The Communist Party of Mexico declares categorically that none of the participants in the provocation is a member of the party; that all of them are uncontrollable elements and agents provocateurs. . . ."

With different variations this declaration was repeated on the following days. Since then Siqueiros has been proclaimed not only "half mad" but also an "agent provocateur."

D. Serrano's declarations concerning Siqueiros and A. Pujol were a signal for similar declarations on the part of the remaining prisoners. "Serrano Andonegui gave the first information on Alfaro Siqueiros and then the two women spies wished to amplify their declarations. . . ." The entire responsibility was unloaded by the defendants henceforth on D. Siqueiros. Mateo Martinez, a party member, at first admitted that D. Serrano, member of the Political Bureau, "is a man capable of any enterprise such as the attempt on Trotsky." But obviously under the beneficial influence of his attorney, Mr. Pavon Flores, member of the Central Committee of the party, Mateo Martinez suddenly understood that D. Serrano had nothing to do with it, that only agent provocateurs like Siqueiros were capable of such acts.

Having entrenched themselves in this position, the Stalinists began to move ahead. . . . By August 2, D. Serrano had already testified, judging from the papers, that I gave Siqueiros money either for some journal or other, or for . . . the "self-assault." The goal of this new absurdity is clear: David Alfaro Siqueiros is being gradually transformed little by little into a . . . Trotskyist. "The grosser the lie, the more readily people believe it," reads the precept of Hitler-Stalin.

Intense activity is doubtless going on behind the scenes of the official investigation. The GPU doesn't wish to give up. Despite the corpse of Robert Sheldon Harte, despite the confessions of a number of those arrested, the GPU wishes to revive the version of self-assault. This would be so convenient for a number of people with soiled reputations! Furthermore, the GPU disposes of inexhaustible economic resources.

In totalitarian Moscow a machination of this kind would have been managed without difficulty. It is otherwise in Mexico. Here the agents of the GPU including D. Serrano and his attorney Pavon Flores restrain their zeal. They lie too crudely. They contradict themselves too unceremoniously. They forget today what they did and said yesterday. We shall demonstrate this presently with full evidence. It is the aim of these lines to prevent the GPU from befuddling public opinion, if only for a few days, with its intrigue.

What were the real relationships between the Communist Party and Siqueiros prior to the attempt? They were relations of intimate collaboration, complete unity of aim and method; they were relations of a friendly division of labor. Without doubt, Siqueiros never broke with the Kremlin. Siqueiros undoubtedly had "misunderstandings" with this or that leader of the Communist Party of Mexico. This milieu is generally characterized by rivalries, intrigue, and mutual denunciations. But Siqueiros never broke with the Kremlin. He continued being always a loyal agent of Stalin. In Spain he together with D. Serrano worked under the direction of Soviet GPU agents. He returned to Mexico as a trusted agent of Moscow. All the Stalinist and semi-Stalinist groups paid him honor. *El Popular* and *Futuro* devoted panegyric articles to him. How is it possible that Lombardo Toledano, V. Villasenor, Alejandro Carrillo never even suspected that Siqueiros was "half mad," "agent provocateur," and even a "Trotskyist"?

In December 1939 when the plan of the attempt was already being elaborated in the narrow circle of the conspirators, the Communist Party organized a meeting in honor of Stalin's sixtieth birthday, "the genial guide, pride of the world proletariat." In an account of this meeting in *La Voz de Mexico* for December 21 we read:

"The message transcribed above was approved in the midst of thunderous applause by those attending the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of Stalin in the Hidalgo theater. . . . In the presidium were comrades James Ford, Alfaro Siqueiros, Rafael Carrillo, Valentin Campa, Andres Salgado, and the Spanish writer Margarita Nelkin. . . ."

Thus the "half mad" and "agent provocateur" Siqueiros, long ago "expelled" from the party, sat in the presidium of the meeting, alongside of Ford, Stalinist party candidate for the vice presidency of the United States, and other luminaries of the Comintern. David Alfaro Siqueiros (without yet suspecting his "Trotskyism") with decided pleasure signed the enthusiastic telegram to Stalin from whom he had a short time before received the order to organize the attempt.

In the same number of *La Voz de Mexico*, we find in an article:

"A similar case is that of comrade David Alfaro Siqueiros, illegally sent to trial by false testimony from lower-rank employees of the Federal District police. . . . In our opinion all the organizations must also be organized in the case of comrade Siqueiros."

*La Voz de Mexico* calls the "Trotskyist" Siqueiros "comrade" and jealously defends an agent provocateur against the Mexican police.

On January 14, 1940, when Siqueiros had already initiated the practical organization of the attempt, *La Voz de Mexico* reported another communist meeting:

"Next Siqueiros took the rostrum in order to demonstrate the true character of the 'independent press,' which sells itself to the highest bidder and which changes its criterion according to the boss who pays it. . . . He aroused everyone, the people and their organizations, to the danger of a reactionary insurrection, affirming that the *Mexican Communist Party* is mobilized for struggle in order to answer in the form that might be necessary the aggression of the imperialists and national traitors."

As the main speaker at a Communist meeting, D. Siqueiros not only solidarizes himself with the party that "excluded" him but speaks authoritatively in its name: "affirming that the Mexican Communist Party is mobilized for struggle." Such language can be employed only by a party leader. The editorial board of *La Voz de Mexico* in its turn solidarizes itself completely with the fighting speech of "Comrade" Siqueiros.

In the May 1 issue of *La Voz de Mexico* we find the following article:

". . . The trial of Siqueiros is about to end. *There is danger that he will be condemned*, because of the corrupting influence of the business-dailies. It is necessary, hence, that the solidarity of the workers should manifest itself in immediate support of the Committee for the Definitive Liberty of Siqueiros" ("For the Liberty of Alfaro Siqueiros").

Only three weeks remained before the attempt; Siqueiros, to whom the police were paying unwelcome attention, was urgently needed by the GPU. The editors of *La Voz de Mexico* came to his defense, unable to foresee that a month or so later they would proclaim their close partisan an "agent provocateur."

The same cynical contradictions, on a smaller scale, are to be found in the relations of the Communist Party to Mr. Rosendo Gomez Lorenzo. According to the press of June 19: "concerning Rosendo Lorenzo he (D. Serrano) said that he knew he had been expelled from the party because of certain fraudulent tricks." This version was also repeated by *La Voz de Mexico* where R. G. Lorenzo is characterized as a common thief who appropriated funds collected for the party.

Later, on June 23, believing surely that the participation of Lorenzo was not proved, and considering that perhaps there might be need of him, *La Voz de Mexico* wrote differently:

"Equal fury has been manifested against the journalist Rosendo Gomez Lorenzo whom the journalists without honor hate with a miserable resentment because of his position in favor of the revolutionary forces."

The man who was yesterday declared to be a thief, is the next day depicted as a martyr for the revolutionary cause!

We have heard how D. Serrano contemptuously referred to Pujol as the "disciple and personal assistant" of the half mad Siqueiros. Clearly D. Serrano could have nothing in common with Pujol. Nevertheless, *El Popular* of January 4, 1939, printed a telegram from Barcelona dated the second of the same month and sent to the CTM which reads:

"Mexican veterans nearest repatriation, we wish you Prosperous New Year in united revolutionary struggle against reaction and fascism. For the Committee: Pujol, General Secretary; Talavera, Secretary of Agitation and Propaganda; Justo, Secretary of Organization."

Justo is none other than David Serrano. This telegram only testifies uncontestedly to the close existing collaboration between D. Serrano and Pujol, and consequently with Siqueiros himself.

Mightn't the GPU demand of Siqueiros tomorrow, under the threat of death, that he confess to having been secretly a "Trotskyist"? May not Siqueiros declare that Robert Sheldon Harte was killed during the "self-assault"? May not D. Serrano himself confess that he was merely one of Dies's agents for organizing political murders? May not *El Popular* be already preparing an editorial on this topic? We can foresee in advance the style of patriotic indignation! Let them try!

Moscow has long ago created classic models for such transactions. We await the new intrigue calmly. We don't need to invent anything. We shall only aid in elucidating the logic of facts. Against this logic the falsifiers will break their skulls!

### **Why Do the Stalinists Disavow Their Own Handiwork?**

When the absurd version of "self-assault" suffered a miserable fiasco, and the guilt of the Kremlin's agents became apparent to the world, the friends, inspirers, and protectors of Siqueiros made an attempt to dissociate themselves from the attempt on grounds of "principled" character.

*La Voz de Mexico* of June 1 wrote:

"The Communist International, the international of Lenin and Stalin, and with it the parties of the whole world have never proclaimed nor practiced individual terroristic struggle, but the organized violence of the masses. . . ."

*La Voz de Mexico*, June 16 repeats:

"The Communist Party has declared a thousand times that its program neither accepts nor proclaims individual terrorism, but the open action of the masses in defense of their interests."

And on June 30:

"How could it be possible then that the Communist Party, denying its own principles, acting against its own interests, could participate in a terrorist act, completely foreign to our tactics and methods of struggle?"

The same thing is repeated by the accused D. Serrano, Mateo Martinez, and their attorneys. All of them talk exclusively of incorporeal "principles" which prohibit individual terror. Not one of them speaks a single word about facts. No one mentions the GPU. Haven't they really heard about the existence of this institution? Are they really unaware that the GPU systematically occupies itself with murders not only on the territories of the USSR but in all the civilized countries of the world?

It is not at all a question whether the so-called "principles" of the Communist Party are good or bad. It is a question of the activities in which the Communist Party engages and the real relations between the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the GPU.

The GPU is not merely the secret police of the USSR, but something far more important. The GPU is the instrument of the totalitarian rule of the Stalinist clique over the USSR and the Comintern. One of the most important and unremitting tasks of the GPU is the physical destruction of the most reso-

lute and dangerous opponents of Stalin's dictatorship. Within the USSR this destruction is semi-camouflaged by legal formalities. Outside of the USSR it is carried out through plots, attempts, and murders from ambush.

As organizations, the GPU and the Comintern are not identical but they are indissoluble. They are subordinated to one another, and moreover it is not the Comintern that gives orders to the GPU but on the contrary, it is the GPU that completely dominates the Comintern. This domination finds its expression in the sudden changes of Central Committees of all the sections, as Moscow wills it; in the purges which are carried out by mysterious hands, behind the party's back. Those members of the Central Committee who are agents of the GPU see to it that the party's conduct does not in any way run contrary to the interests of the GPU. Since there is not even a semblance of free discussion or democratic decision in the party, the agents of the GPU, through the Central Committee, can force any party member, under the penalty of moral and sometimes physical annihilation, to carry out the decisions of the GPU. Without understanding these mechanics it is impossible to perceive the real motives behind the conduct of *La Voz de Mexico*, the defendants, and their supporters.

In June 1937 Mr. Hernan Laborde, on orders from Moscow, subjected the policies of the Central Committee, his own included, to "self-criticism." Here is one of his confessions:

"We demanded that the agreement which permitted the establishment of Trotsky in Mexico should be revoked and we threatened *mass action* which we could not unchain because we did not have the necessary force. . . ." (Hernan Laborde, *Unity at All Cost*, 1937)

This quotation is of great importance. Naturally Moscow would have preferred that I be driven out by the pressure of the masses. But the masses were not there and the party only fell into a ridiculous situation. Moscow had hoped that Lombardo Toledano would be more successful in mobilizing the workers under the slogan of expelling Trotsky from Mexico. But despite all Toledano's efforts the workers obstinately refused to respond to this agitation—the toilers dislike to assume the role of persecutors. Meanwhile with the onset of the war Moscow felt with particular acuteness the need of silencing my voice. With every passing day Moscow became more and more impatient and pressed its agency in Mexico. History teaches us that when adventurist organizations lack sufficient political forces to solve a task, the idea of terrorist acts arises by itself. The pistol, the machine gun, or dynamite must re-

place the inadequate force of the masses. This is the classic formula of individual terrorism.

The renunciation of terrorism by *La Voz de Mexico* is simply a ritualistic phrase for evading responsibility. The fraudulent character of the renunciation is best proved by the conduct of D. Siqueiros himself. On March 5, 1939, speaking as one of the Stalinist orators at a meeting of Mexican teachers, Siqueiros preached the necessity of waging a struggle against "traitors," saying: ". . . and it is necessary that they should know that we are going to combat them, *not with direct action, but through the unification of the masses*" (*El Popular*, March 6, 1939, page 1, col. 2).

Siqueiros adopted here the very same formula which *La Voz de Mexico*, *El Popular*, and *Futuro* were later forced to repeat in order to untie themselves from Siqueiros. In vain! Siqueiros has completely discredited this saving formula.

It is impossible not to underscore the vast difference between the use of terror by revolutionary parties and by the gangs of the GPU. Russia was the classic country of individual terror. The revolutionary party used to assume openly the responsibility for every sanguinary act it committed. Polish and Irish terrorists behaved similarly in their struggle for national independence. It is entirely otherwise with the Stalinists. After perpetrating a scheduled murder, they not only disown their own handiwork but seek to foist their own crime upon their political opponent. They do not act in the interests of the people but in the interests of a totalitarian gang. They are compelled to deceive the people. This cowardly duplicity invests the terror of the GPU with a dishonest and repulsive character.

### **What Is the Essence of My Accusation?**

On July 2, I reaffirmed in court my assertion that *La Voz de Mexico*, *El Popular*, and *Futuro* are tools of the GPU and enjoy its economic aid. Following *El Popular* and *Futuro*, *La Voz de Mexico* deemed it necessary to sue me in the courts for "defamation." Prudent step! The Comintern is as obedient a tool of the Kremlin as the GPU. Just how can *La Voz de Mexico* remain a Comintern newspaper and at the same time consider as "defamation" any reference to its connection with the Kremlin? Obviously, *La Voz de Mexico* has entered its complaint only in order to reduce to absurdity the complaints of *El Popular* and *Futuro*.

Material assistance on the part of Moscow to revolutionary movements in other countries began from the hour the Bol-

sheviks seized power. On December 26, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars issued the following decree:

***AN APPROPRIATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF WORLD REVOLUTION***

"Taking into consideration the fact that Soviet power bases itself on principles of international solidarity of the proletariat and on the brotherhood of the toilers of all countries; that the struggle against war and imperialism can lead toward complete victory only if waged on an international scale, the Council of People's Commissars considers it necessary to offer assistance by all possible means, including money, to the left international wing of the labor movement of all countries, regardless of whether these countries are at war or in an alliance with Russia or are neutral. For this reason the Council of People's Commissars decides to grant two million rubles for the needs of the revolutionary international movement and to put it at the disposal of the foreign representatives of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

"V. ULIANOV (Lenin)

"President of the Council of People's Commissars

"L. TROTSKY

"People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs"

Not even today am I inclined to withdraw my signature from this decree. It was a question of giving open aid to revolutionary movements in other countries under the control of workers' organizations. The parties receiving aid enjoyed complete freedom of criticism of the Soviet government. At the congresses of the Communist International a passionate ideological struggle always used to take place, and on more than one occasion Lenin and I remained in the minority.

Under Stalin's regime the question of financial assistance to foreign organizations suffered a complete degeneration. "The workers' and peasants' government" controlled by the party and answerable to the Soviets was transformed into a personal dictatorship based on the totalitarian apparatus of impersonal functionaries. International solidarity was transformed into a degrading submission to the Kremlin. Financial assistance became a form of bribery. Not a single revolutionist would have dared to call "slander" a reference to aid from the Kremlin during the time when the Comintern was a revolutionary organization! This "aid" is felt today even by Moscow's agents as a shameful and degrading dependency not to be openly acknowledged. By bringing against me a suit for "defamation,"

the Mexican agents of the Kremlin are only corroborating my appraisal of the present Kremlin.

I do not reproach *La Voz de Mexico* and the other publications with obtaining money from their co-thinkers abroad. There is nothing reprehensible in this. I accused and I accuse them of this, that their co-thinkers in the USSR are not the workers and peasants but the oppressors and hangmen of workers and peasants. I accuse them of fulfilling the shameful and criminal missions of the GPU; of serving the reactionary aims of the parasitic oligarchy; of being compelled to hide their connection with the GPU and their economic dependence on the latter. This grave accusation I wholly maintain!

### **The Budget of the Comintern and Economic Aid to Foreign Sections**

The intervention of the GPU in the affairs of the Comintern, the system of bribery and corruption of the leaders of the labor movement in countries abroad, began to develop systematically at the beginning of 1926 when Stalin placed himself definitively at the head of the Comintern. At the same time the irreconcilable struggle of the Opposition (the "Trotskyists") began against the arbitrariness and bribery of the Comintern and its periphery. Thus, for example, the Opposition disclosed that Purcell, the well-known leader of the British trade unions,<sup>252</sup> received in return for his "friendship" to the Soviet Union, i.e., the Kremlin, a secret salary of twenty-five pounds a month. All sorts of material boons were likewise enjoyed by other prominent leaders of the same trade unions. Their wives received "inoffensive" gifts of gold and platinum. Needless to say all these gentlemen and ladies, who did not formally belong to the Comintern, considered the Trotskyists as "traitors."

Fearing the revelations of the Opposition, Stalin found himself compelled to begin publishing something in the nature of a financial statement of the Comintern. I append to this declaration the financial statements for three years, 1929, 1930, and 1931. It must be said at once that these statements, prepared in the laboratories of the GPU, are completely false. The entire budget is reduced many times. Secret expenditures are not mentioned at all. The source of the funds is camouflaged. The reduced sums indicated in the statements—\$675,000, \$956,000, and \$1,128,000 for the three years mentioned above—came almost entirely from Stalin's secret funds.

Despite all these concealments and distortions, or rather thanks to them, one of the items among the expenses assumes

an especially convincing character. In each year's budget we find a special item: *Subsidy to party publications*, amounting to \$435,000, \$641,000, and \$756,000 respectively, acknowledged thus by the sharply reduced and false financial statement. In the course of the three years cited subsidies to the publications of Comintern sections rose from a half-million to three-quarters of a million dollars. The statement does not therefore consider it either necessary or possible to hide such a universally known fact as monetary assistance on the part of Moscow to foreign sections and their papers. Obviously, it never even entered the minds of the super-cautious accountants of the GPU that *La Voz de Mexico* would proclaim as an "old slander" a reference to monetary aid from Moscow. The financial statements naturally cover only the official Comintern press, such as *La Voz de Mexico*; the direct or indirect aid to periodicals not formally adhering to the Comintern but fulfilling very important and delicate missions of the GPU, such as *El Popular* and *Futuro*, is left out completely. We shall speak of them separately.

The question may naturally be asked why I use the financial statements of the Comintern only for the years 1929, 1930, and 1931. The answer is simple: After the repression of the "Trotskyists" the publication of statements was suspended. Their falseness provoked suspicion on all sides and satisfied nobody. At the same time such items in the expenditures as subsidies to the sections and publications of the Comintern created difficulties for some of these sections. The fact that the Comintern no longer publishes its budget testifies by itself that it is compelled to hide completely its financial operations.

But this does not mean to say in any way that subsidies to sections and to "friends" have ceased. On the contrary, these subsidies have grown from year to year. They must amount by now to tens of millions of dollars, and furthermore the greater portion of this amount is undoubtedly expended upon publications and "friends" who do not formally belong to the Comintern.

### **The Indissoluble Tie Between the Comintern and the GPU**

In a letter addressed to Albert Goldman, my attorney in New York, B. Gitlow, one of the founders of the Communist Party in the United States, member of its Central Committee, member of the Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Comintern, characterizes as follows the relations between the Comintern and the GPU:

"Crompond, New York

"July 25, 1940

"Dear Mr. Goldman:

"When I was a member of the Presidium and Executive Committee of the Communist International I helped direct the affairs of the Communist International and was intimately acquainted with the way in which the organization functioned as an agency of the GPU.

"Every representative of the Communist International sent out of Russia to foreign countries always carried special GPU instructions and, if not directly an agent of the GPU, worked under the direction of a GPU agent.

"The special department of the Communist International in Moscow which took charge of passports, visas, and the financial subsidies to Communist parties and to Communist newspapers outside of Russia, was in charge of the GPU and its director was an employee directly responsible to this organization.

"It was common knowledge to me that the financial affairs of the Communist International were in the hands of the GPU.

"Yours truly,

"Benjamin Gitlow"

Inasmuch as Mr. Gitlow was in a town where there was no notary public, the authenticity of his letter destined for the Mexican court was certified to by a special affidavit from Mr. A. Goldman.

"Albert Goldman being first duly sworn on oath deposes and says:

- "1. That he is a resident of the City of New York, State of New York, United States of America.
- "2. That he received a letter from Benjamin Gitlow dated July 25, 1940, dealing with the relationship of the Communist International to the GPU.
- "3. That he knows the handwriting of Benjamin Gitlow and knows of his own knowledge that this letter is in the handwriting of Benjamin Gitlow.

"Signed and sworn to before me, this 29 day of July 1940

A. D.

"Albert Goldman

"H. E. Minnick, Notary Public"

In his book *I Confess*, B. Gitlow makes exceptionally important and exact declarations concerning the dependency of the Communist Party upon the GPU.

"But the Party was tied to the Soviet government by stronger strings as well. Most important of these was the GPU. Directly

upon the request of the GPU, the Party supplied it with Party members who could be added to its espionage staff. These Party members became full-fledged GPU agents, employed and paid by the Soviet government. These agents were the link between the Party and the GPU. Contacts were made for them by the Party Secretariat, who from time to time advised them how to proceed. A Party member who became a GPU agent dropped out of Party activity the moment he was selected. He became subject to the severe discipline which the GPU imposes upon its agents. Only very few of the Party leaders knew when a Party member became a GPU agent, and they kept this information strictly confidential. Every time the Party was called upon by the GPU to help, it was paid for any expenses involved far above what was actually spent, the surplus going into the Party treasury. But we, the Party leaders, who greatly cherished every opportunity to be of service to the GPU, aid in its work and be in its confidence, knew that the GPU kept a close watch on us, too. It was an open secret among us, the Party leaders, that the GPU was supplying Moscow with a complete record of all the leaders of the American Communist Party along with reports on the activities of the Party as a whole. . . . However, we all knew that the Soviet government did not consider our Party merely a section of the Communist International, which the leaders of the Soviet government dominated, but that they looked upon the American Communist Party as one of its agencies.

" . . . The Soviet government utilized members of the American Communist Party over a far-flung area that included China, Japan, Germany, Mexico and the countries of Central and South America. . ." (*I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow, pp. 302, 303).

Mexico, as we observe, does not constitute an exception. Denial of ties with the Kremlin is not an invention of *La Voz de Mexico*. B. Gitlow writes on this point:

" . . . the American Communist Party has always argued that it had no connections whatsoever with the Soviet government, but the fact of the matter is that the American Communist Party is in the same relation to the Soviet government as the paid agents of Nazi Germany in the United States are to the government of the Third Reich" (pp. 300, 301).

### The Testimony of Matorras and Krivitsky

Very important although far from complete data concerning the financial dictatorship of the Kremlin over the sections of

the Comintern are supplied by Enrique Matorras, ex-secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth of Spain and member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, in his documentary book published in Madrid in 1935:

"The International supports the Communist movement economically with apportionments more or less high, but ordinarily a fixed amount is established for each country, without preventing it under abnormal circumstances from sending greater sums. This support exists not only for the organization properly called the party, but extends to other sectors of the Communist movement in different forms.

"Approximately what is received monthly in Spain in all forms, is the following:

	Pesetas
The Communist International for the party	12,000
The International of Red Trade Unions for the Communist Trade Union movement	10,000
The International Communist Youth for the youth organizations	5,000
The International Red Aid for the Spanish section	5,000
The International Workers Aid for the Span- ish section	2,000
The International Red Sports for the Cultural Workers Sports Federation	1,000
The Press Section of the Communist Interna- tional for the journal of the party	10,000
Grand Total	45,000

"This amount is aside from the appropriations for the maintenance of the delegates and is sent only in order to increase the activity of the party and its different organizations. It is to be noted that all the members of the "Political Bureau" of the party and of the youth organizations are paid monthly with the designated amount of 400 pesetas as salary; in addition they enjoy ten pesetas daily for expense money in the trips which they make outside the city where they are living and consequently all the expenses of traveling are taken care of also.

"Various methods are employed to bring this money into Spain. Sometimes individuals carry it, or women specialized in this work. Sometimes it is received through the mediation of publishing houses connected with the party. Thus it has been supposed that for more than two years the Cenit Publishers have been receiving this money. In brief, the Interna-

tional manages through all means to have in each country a crew of paid men in its complete service." (*Communism in Spain, Its Orientation, Its Organization, Its Procedures*, by Enrique Matorras, Former Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth of Spain. Madrid, 1935. Exclusive rights, Ediciones "Pax," Plaza de Santo Domingo 13, Apartado 8001, Madrid, pp. 13, 15)

The sums mentioned here are relatively modest. But let us not forget that Matorras's book appeared in 1935, i.e., prior to the outbreak of the Civil War when the intervention of the GPU into Spanish affairs assumed a decisive character. The testimony of E. Matorras proves in any case that subsidies to sections did not cease with the suspension of the publication of the Comintern's financial statements.

In the cited quotation reference is made to assistance on the part of the Communist International and not the GPU. But involved here is merely a question of terminological camouflage. The GPU does not have a treasury of its own. Because of purely practical considerations the Kremlin places upon the transmitted funds the stamp of the Comintern, or International Red Aid, or Society for International Cultural Relations, or "Friends of the Soviet Union," Sports International, etc., etc. Back of these stamps hides the one and the same Stalin whose apparatus for maintaining contacts abroad is the GPU which has every reason for remaining incognito.

As regards the financial dependence of the Comintern sections upon the Kremlin we have the exhaustive testimony of General Krivitsky who was until 1938 the head of Soviet espionage for all Europe.

"The heart of the Comintern is the little known and never publicized International Liaison Section, known by its Russian initials as the OMS (Otdyel Mezhdunarodnoi Svyazi). . . . As the chief of the OMS he (Piatnitsky) became, in effect, the Finance Minister and Director of Personnel of the Comintern.

"He created a world-wide network of permanently stationed agents responsible to him, to act as the liaison officers between Moscow and the nominally autonomous Communist Parties of Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the United States. As resident agents of the Comintern, these OMS representatives hold the whip over the leaders of the Communist Party in the country in which they are stationed. Neither the rank and file, nor even the majority of the leaders of the Communist Parties, know the identity of the OMS representative, who is responsible to Moscow, and who does not participate directly in party discussions.

"In recent years the OGPU has gradually taken over many of the OMS functions, especially the hunting down and reporting to Moscow of cases of heresy against Stalin. . . .

"The most delicate job entrusted to the OMS resident agents is the distribution of money to finance the Communist Parties, their expensive propaganda and their false fronts—such, for instance as the League for Peace and Democracy, the International Workers' Aid, the Friends of the Soviet Union, and a host of ostensibly non-partisan organizations, which became especially important cogs when Moscow embarked upon the popular front. . . .

"At no time has any single Communist Party in the world managed to cover more than a very small percentage of its expenses. Moscow's own estimate is that it must bear on an average from ninety to ninety-five percent of the expenditures of foreign Communist Parties. This money is paid from the Soviet treasury through the OMS in sums decided upon by Stalin's Political Bureau.

"The OMS resident agent is the judge, in the first instance, of the wisdom of any new expenditure which a Communist Party wishes to make. In the United States, for example, if the Political Bureau of the American Communist Party contemplates the publication of a new newspaper, the OMS agent is consulted. He considers the suggestion, and if it merits attention he communicates with the OMS headquarters in Moscow. . . .

"One of the favorite methods of transmitting money and instructions from Moscow to a foreign country for the use of the local Communist Party is through the diplomatic pouches, which are immune from search. . . . From Moscow . . . in packages bearing the seal of the Soviet government, (arrive) rolls of bank notes together with sealed instructions for their distribution. He (the representative of the GPU) personally delivers the roll of bills to the Communist leader, with whom he maintains direct contact. Through carelessness, American British, and French bank notes have several times been sent abroad for Comintern use bearing the telltale stamp of the Soviet State Bank" (*In Stalin's Secret Service*, by W.G. Krivitsky, pp. 51 to 54).

Krivitsky thus establishes that the sections of the Comintern are in absolute financial dependence upon Moscow and that the direct organ of financial control over the Comintern is the GPU.

The passages cited from Krivitsky's book have the weight of juridical testimony since Krivitsky gave the same information

under oath before the investigating committee of the United States House of Representatives and is ready to answer questions put to him by the Mexican court.

### Supplementary Evidence of B. Gitlow

In the matter of proving the financial dependence of the Communist parties on Moscow, the sole difficulty consists in the abundance of the available proofs and documents. I am compelled here to reduce quotations to a minimum.

Benjamin Gitlow, who in the course of twenty years played a leading part in the communist movement in the United States, has published a book containing incontrovertible evidence of the complete financial dependence of the sections of the Comintern upon Moscow. B. Gitlow broke with the Comintern, otherwise he would not have come forward with his revelations. Gitlow's present political tendencies do not interest me. Suffice it that the factual side of his book is based on uncontestedable facts:

" . . . The *Daily Worker*, far from paying its way, was constantly losing money; the Comintern had poured many times over the initial sum of thirty-five thousand dollars it had invested to start the paper. . . . Our hope was that with the transfer of its headquarters to New York, the *Daily Worker* would begin to yield better returns on its investment in the form of increased circulation. The total cost of the building, general repairs, the new printing plant, and incidentals ran well over three hundred thousand dollars . . ." (*I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow, p. 307).

"The Party today has branched out into so many new fields, its importance to the Soviet Union's foreign policy on account of the Japanese situation makes it necessary for the party to carry on an unprecedented propaganda campaign through every avenue of publicity, even including the expensive use of the radio. Recently the Party has started the publication of two new daily papers, one in Chicago and one in San Francisco, even though the yearly deficit of the *Daily Worker* has always been over fifty thousand dollars. Obviously the Soviet Union must now subsidize the American Party more heavily than it ever did before . . ." (p. 389).

" . . . I returned from Moscow to attend the 1928 Presidential nominating convention of the Party with five thousand dollars of Russian money in my jeans, as the first installment of Moscow's contribution of thirty-five thousand dollars to our Presidential campaign. That in turn was part of the quarter million

dollars we used to receive annually under special grants for specific purposes. For our 1924 Presidential campaign Moscow had contributed fifty thousand dollars. Having started the *Daily Worker* on its career with an initial donation of thirty-five thousand dollars, Moscow has continued to feed into that hopper never less than that sum annually. Of course, Moscow's financial contributions to the American Communist Party in my day were only a very small part of what they are today, when Moscow is undisputed boss . . ." (p. 496).

What are the proportions of Moscow's financial aid? B. Gitlow, through whose hands funds from Moscow passed on more than one occasion, declares in this respect:

" . . . Moscow was a generous donor, but far from all of our activities were paid for by the Russians. With a membership never exceeding sixteen thousand in those days, we spent on an average of a million dollars a year, of which the better half was raised right in the United States . . ." (p. 470).

Even so wealthy a party as the American one thus covered about half of its expenditures from Moscow sources.

The same author tells us about the founding of the Communist newspaper in London:

" . . . The British Communist Party was treated like a sickly child. The Party had to receive assistance from Moscow for every step it took. . . . The Comintern tried to force the British Party to raise a certain quota of the money necessary to start a British Communist Daily. The leaders made all kinds of excuses as to why they could not raise the money. When the paper was published it was done with Comintern money, the Russians supplying practically all the money needed to launch the paper and keep it in existence. What was true of the leaders of these countries was in lesser or greater measure true of other countries as well . . ." (pp. 587-88).

There is, as we observe no reason to presume that Mexico is an exception.

I cite Gitlow's book not as a literary work but as the testimony of a witness; first, because B. Gitlow gave the same testimony under oath before a Congressional investigating committee; secondly, because he is ready to answer under oath any questions of the Mexican court.

### **Financial Aid to the Communist Parties of Latin America**

It is quite self-evident that the Communist parties of Latin America are in a similar relation to Moscow as the Communist parties in other parts of the world. There could be no

doubt on this score even if we had no special data. But we do possess such data. I append here the important testimony of Joseph Zack, who played a leading part in the life of American Communism, including that of Latin America, for fifteen years. Here is Joseph Zack's testimony under oath:

"Joseph Zack being duly sworn on oath deposes and says:

"1. That he resides in the City of New York, United States of America.

"2. That for a period of approximately 15 years he was a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America and during that time was a member of the Central Committee of the party and held many responsible posts.

"3. That in 1929-1930 he worked for the Red Trade Union International in Moscow and in 1930 was sent by Piatnitsky, Secretary of the Communist International at that time, and Manuilsky, Chairman of the Communist International, to Bogota, Colombia, South America, for the purpose of supervising the work of the Communist Party in Colombia for and on behalf of the Communist International.

"That he spent 15 months in Colombia as the representative of the Communist International and seven months in Venezuela, also representing the Communist International.

"That while there he was in constant touch with the Bureau of the Comintern residing in Montevideo, Uruguay.

"4. That affiant further states that he was authorized to spend and did spend during his stay in Colombia close to \$6500 for the purpose of subsidizing the work of the Communist Party of Colombia then affiliated with the Communist International. While he was in Venezuela, he also spent money for the purpose of subsidizing the work of the Communist Party in Venezuela.

"That most of the money came to him from one Kitty Harris, residing in New York and a member of the Communist Party.

"That he remembers distinctly that on one occasion personally he received from the representative of the Communist International known by the name of Williams, the sum of \$800. That according to his best knowledge and belief the said Williams was a member of the GPU.

"Joseph Zack

"Signed and sworn to before me this

"20 day of July 1940

"Walter A. Sawlor, Notary Public"

J. Zack did not, it is true, have connections with Mexico. But there is no doubt that if the GPU did not forget Colombia

and Venezuela it had all the more reason to be concerned about Mexico.

In 1931 the attention of the Mexican government was drawn to a certain Manuel Diaz Ramirez who had large sums to his credit in the bank. *El Universal*, May 6, 1931, wrote on this affair:

". . . It is known that he has belonged to the Mexican Communist Party for ten years and is at present the representative in Mexico of the Third International to which he went, remaining in Russia a year. From 1927 to 1928 he was in charge of the treasury of the party, handling thirty thousand pesos. And all the expenses incurred in his trips were paid from these funds" (*El Universal*, first section, p. 7. col. 7).

To my knowledge it was firmly established at the time that this money came from Moscow. The court authorities have the full possibility to check this episode.

During the break of diplomatic relations between Mexico and the USSR, the Mexican government had occasion to refer officially to the relationship between the sections of the Comintern and the state organs of the USSR. I leave completely aside the question whether the break of diplomatic relations between Mexico and the USSR was "just" or "unjust"; I also leave aside the persecution of the Mexican Communist Party. I am interested in the facts officially established. The communication of the Mexican government for January 23, 1930, reads:

"The government of Mexico knows perfectly well . . . that the Russian Communist groups do not work and could not work independently, because any political organization of that country is subject to the Soviet government."

The assertion that no organization in the USSR can act independently of the government is absolutely incontestable. The direction of all organizations is concentrated in the hands of the GPU and it becomes especially severe and imperious when foreign relations are concerned. Financial aid to foreign sections of the Comintern as well as to "friendly" publications is the business of the GPU. Mexico does not constitute an exception.

### **The System of Personal Corruption**

The methods of corruption and bribery applied in Moscow toward leaders of the labor movement abroad long ago became proverbial. Moscow either bribes or strangles any op-

position within the Comintern. When the delegation of the American Communist Party, elected at a legally held convention, left for Moscow, the leaders knew in advance what their welcome would be in Moscow:

"... We had to protect our delegates against the Moscow system of corruption. We warned those to whom the experience of going to Moscow was a new one that they should expect all kinds of trouble. We also explained to them the ways of the Comintern. We told them the Comintern had tremendous resources, that its agents would entertain them lavishly, that every kind of temptation would be thrown their way, to make them change their views, that, if temptation did not work, pressure would be used. Our delegates solemnly pledged to remain loyal and to fight for the justice we sought, to the bitter end" (*I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow, p. 528).

The rivalry between leaders in the Communist parties is often resolved by the transfer of some of the "leaders" to the GPU. When B. Gitlow fell into disgrace for attempting to conduct an independent policy, the attempt was made in Moscow to transfer him to the GPU. Gitlow himself has the following to relate about the incident:

"... Attempts were made to bribe me. I was offered a lucrative position doing confidential GPU work in the Latin-American countries at a very good salary, including traveling expenses, which would enable me to travel first class and stop at the best hotels. . . . I turned the tempting offer down, because I recognized that it was a bribe and because I knew that if I once put myself in the employ of the GPU, I would be at its mercy for ever after" (pp. 568-69).

This episode sheds a glaring light on the fate of many of those who have been "expelled" or "removed," like D. A. Siqueiros, G. Lorenzo, H. Laborde, and others. The attempt to send so prominent a figure as Gitlow to Latin America demonstrates the special interest paid by the GPU to Latin American countries.

Fred Beal,<sup>253</sup> one of the leaders of the workers in America, tells in his book how he was won over in Moscow:

"The Comintern . . . began to flatter me with a moving solicitude. They made me feel satisfied in Moscow: good room, good food, and good pay for speeches and writings for the journals" (*Proletarian Journey*, by Fred Beal, p. 257).

Gitlow relates how the Kremlin won over to its side the well-known American Negro, Ford:

"... He was showered with flattery, given many testimonials and loaded with pins, badges and presents of every descrip-

tion . . ." (*I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow, p. 455).

It is not superfluous to point out that this same Ford represented the Comintern in Mexico during the last overturn in the party which preceded the attempt of May 24.

The examples adduced of personal corruption adopted by the Kremlin are only isolated instances of a finished system. The basic element of this system is the introduction by Stalin of a double wage: one is paid to party employees officially; the other is paid out to the more "responsible" functionaries from a special secret treasury controlled by the GPU. Originating in Moscow, against the energetic resistance of the "Trot-skyist" Opposition, this system soon extended to the whole Comintern. There cannot be the slightest doubt that it was and is still employed in Mexico. Having secret salaries, members of the Central Committee are able to devote their energies to work in the *friendly* organizations (*El Popular, Futuro*) providing for the latter one of the important forms of economic support.

Gitlow recalls how Stalin on solemn occasions loved to talk about the purity and chastity of the Comintern.

" . . . 'The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class. The Comintern must not be confused with a stock market.' But that was precisely how Stalin was running the Comintern, buying, selling, and ruining its leaders . . ." (*I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow, p. 553).

The leaders of the Mexican Communist Party do not constitute an exception!

### The Disinterestedness of "La Voz de Mexico"

*La Voz de Mexico* for July 7, 1940, calls my assertion that the paper receives financial aid from Moscow—an "old slander." Disassociating myself from the blustering insolence so characteristic of the Stalinists, I will add another quotation:

"The affirmation of the dirty renegade, repeating the old slander, does not surprise us; but we wait in hope of the proof which he offers, with the certainty that he will not be able to present it, since this newspaper lives, with pride and all that modestly could be desired, on the voluntary contributions from the workers, the peasants, and sympathizing elements."

These gentlemen are obviously under the impression that by assuming an insolent tone they are freed from the necessity of reckoning with facts they themselves have acknowledged.

Denying that it receives financial aid from Moscow, *La Voz*

*de Mexico* pretends to believe that the Mexican party is the sole exception in the world to the rules governing the Comintern. However, this same paper wrote in its May 1 issue of this year:

"The economic situation in which the party has fallen is rooted in the fact that the former leadership made the party of the proletariat depend on governors, senators, and deputies, tying the party . . . to the tail of the bourgeoisie; deforming its principles, renouncing the defense of the interests of the workers and the people, braking and opposing itself to the struggle of the masses for better conditions."

We see that the party was not at all so scrupulous about the choice of monetary sources as it pretends to make out in its declaration of July 7.

At the last party convention (March 1940) one of the party leaders, Salgado, accused Laborde, the former leader of the party, of taking bribes:

". . . For a thousand pesos a month, all the pain and hunger of the Yucatan people was sold to the interest of a small group of politicians who control that state" (*Throw the Enemies of the People out of the Revolutionary Ranks!*).

Another party leader, Rafael Carrillo, wrote in April 1940 in connection with the last party convention:

". . . the Extraordinary National Congress has carried out an inestimable labor . . . it has expelled the leaders responsible for the state of disorganization and of corruption which existed in its ranks . . ." (Prologue of Dionisio Encina's pamphlet: *Fuera Imperialismo! Mexico, 1940*).

We thus learn that among the party leadership, which spoke and acted in the party's name, there prevailed not only "disorganization" but also "corruption."

It is not a question of a casual episode. The man responsible for this "corruption," Hernan Laborde, has been at the head of the party since 1928, i.e., for twelve years. His power over the party, especially in the last five years, was unlimited.

Dionisio Encina, the new chief, has this to say about it:

"What has been the leadership of our party but a narrow leadership, which did and resolved everything, reducing the other members of the Political Bureau to the role of auxiliaries?"

And farther on:

". . . since the Fourth Congress until today, that is to say, for five years in which the Party was under the leadership of Laborde and Campa" (p. 102).

The leaders of the Mexican Stalinists, among them D. A.

Siqueiros, declared one time: "It is better to receive money from Moscow than to take it from Mexican capitalists." In 1940 they publicly acknowledged having received money from Mexican capitalists. This does not of course mean that they did not receive at the same time money from Moscow.

I am in no way concerned here with the relations between the Communist Party and the governors, senators, deputies, and Mexican capitalists. The foregoing admissions of *La Voz de Mexico* and Mr. Salgado interest me only to the extent that they refute completely the assertion that the newspaper exists solely upon the "voluntary contributions of workers, peasants, and sympathizers."

True enough, the last convention (March 1940) did resolve to lead a more virtuous life. But we shall learn only during the next purge how serious this measure is, and, above all, to what degree it was carried out. Today it remains a fact that the Communist Party takes money where it can and as much as it can without being embarrassed about the sources.

But even if we accept the pious desire of the last convention as genuine, there is not an iota of slander in my words. *La Voz de Mexico* considers it wholly admissible to receive money from "sympathetic elements." But doesn't Stalin belong to the category of sympathizers? In the same comment in which there is reference to my "slander," Stalin is called "great Soviet leader, Comrade Stalin." Then why is it impossible to accept money from such a sympathizer as the "great Soviet leader"?

But it is not only a question of a "sympathizing" element. The Communist International looks upon itself as the international party of the proletariat. L. Beria,<sup>254</sup> head of the GPU, together with all the members of his collegium and the responsible agents of the GPU, are members of the Communist International, and thereby party comrades of the editors of *La Voz de Mexico*. The paper can therefore receive money from Beria and from the collegium of the GPU—comrades of the international party—without any damage to its "pride." There is consequently not a shadow of slander in my assertion. But the disinterestedness of *La Voz de Mexico* must be wholly assigned to the domain of mythology.

#### A Special Declaration by Walter Krivitsky to the Mexican Court

The present document was almost completed when I received a special declaration made by General W. Krivitsky, the former head of Soviet espionage in Europe, for the Mexican court. This declaration is devoted to the system of the organization

of the GPU in the USSR and abroad, the relations between the GPU and the Comintern, and the terroristic activity of the GPU abroad. Mr. W. Krivitsky, who was for a number of years one of the most important representatives of the GPU, broke with Moscow when Stalin began, by means of frame-up trials, to destroy the revolutionary generation of the Bolshevik Party. The revelations made by Krivitsky in the world press and recently issued in book form are appraised by all serious publications as the most competent and precise evidence on the hidden mechanism of the Kremlin's politics.

To avoid misunderstandings it is necessary to explain that the initials GUGB signify the same thing as the GPU. Because the name of the GPU acquired an especially hated character, the Kremlin tried to change this name to another. But since the gist of the matter remains unaltered in the USSR as well as abroad, the GUGB continues to be called the GPU.

I likewise append the statement of A. Goldman, my attorney in New York, verifying under oath that the statement is genuinely Krivitsky's. General Krivitsky himself avoids public appearances unless absolutely urgent because he is hunted by the professional killers of the GPU.

The date, August 9, on Albert Goldman's statement is likewise the date of Mr. Krivitsky's declaration:

"I want to make the following statement, to be used in any court in Mexico, for and on behalf of Leon Trotsky.

"The General Administration of Security of the National Commissariat of Internal Relations of the State (GUGBNKVD) is the department of the secret police of the USSR. The People's Commissar of Internal Affairs—Beria—is at the same time the head of the GUGB.

"The GUGB is divided into sectors, organized in conformity with the political, economic, and cultural structure of the USSR.

"The principal sector of the GUGB is the Special Section. This has in its charge the vigilance of the entire organization of the party and the special sections of the army and the navy are subject to it. The Special Section has its secret agents and informers in all the organizations. On their denunciations are based the detentions of the GUGB. The characteristic method of work of the GUGB is *periodic arrests*. In the files of the GUGB people are registered against whom there is no material accusation whatsoever for any crime, people *not completely loyal* to the Soviet government. The GUGB considers them as the 'potential counterrevolution.' Among this army of disloyal citizens they carry out mass arrests (purges). In the

jails they convert them into criminals, making them responsible for all the failures in any branch of the life of the country.

"In the agencies abroad the GUGB has its representatives.

"Officially they occupy some diplomatic post. Under their direction is the surveillance of all the official Soviet organs in the respective country.

"All the work of the Comintern abroad is carried on through the Section of International Relations, the OMS. The entire apparatus of the OMS in Moscow and abroad since the years 1936-37 has been integrated through agents of the GUGB and all the activity of the OMS is under its control. In all the countries where the Communist Party is legal, there is a representative of the OMS of Moscow. Formerly, he occupied some secondary post in the diplomatic corps. Lately, these representatives have gone underground. Their functions are: the control over the activity and the financial situation of the Communist Party, the transmission of instructions and economic subsidies proceeding from Moscow. The Soviet government subsidizes not only the official Communist Party and its press, but also the pro-Stalinist journals which do not belong to the party. For example: the journal *Ce Soir* of Paris. All the work of the Comintern in Latin America is concentrated in the United States, where the principal representative of the OMS is found, including the Latin American countries. His aides are found in various countries. The instructions and the economic subsidies are received principally through the Embassy at Washington. Aside from this main center, the OMS has at its disposition an illegal interlocking apparatus, with different sections for Europe, Asia, and America. This has been organized and is destined for a case of war or of rupture in diplomatic relations with any country.

"The GUGB organizes terrorist acts abroad. In virtue of the risks and diplomatic difficulties which carrying out orders represents, they are given personally by the chief of the GUGB, National Commissar of Internal Relations, through the sanction of Stalin. The organizers of these terrorist acts are responsible agents of the GUGB abroad. The killers are always foreigners in the service of the GUGB. They are well tested militants of the Communist parties. Some of them because of considerations of a conspirative character, do not officially belong to the party.

"Walter Krivitsky"

"Albert Goldman being first duly sworn on oath deposes and says:

"1. That he is a resident of the City of New York, State of New York, United States of America.

"2. That he received a document of Walter Krivitsky, which begins with the following sentence in English:

"'I want to make the following statement to be used in any court in Mexico for and on behalf of Leon Trotsky.'

"That the said document consists of three pages written in Russian.

"3. That he knows the handwriting of Walter Krivitsky and knows that the said document is in the handwriting of Walter Krivitsky.

"4. The said Walter Krivitsky is unable personally to make an affidavit because by doing so he would reveal his whereabouts and he is unwilling to do so because of fear of the GPU.

"Albert Goldman

"Subscribed and sworn to before me, this

"9 day of August 1940 A. D.

"Meyer B. Carp, Notary Public"

### Conclusions

The editorial board of *La Voz de Mexico* has demanded that I be held answerable for "defamation" because I expressed in court the certainty that the directors of *La Voz de Mexico* like all other agents of the GPU receive financial aid from their master.

I tried to prove, and I trust succeeded in proving, in this document that *La Voz de Mexico* is an organ of the GPU in the full sense of the term. The paper has no other policy save that which the Kremlin through the GPU instills in its international agents. It defends all the crimes of the GPU and slanders its enemies. The most scandalous torrent of its slander has been directed for several years against me.

I tried further to prove and I hope succeeded in proving the complicity of the Communist Party of Mexico and *La Voz de Mexico* in preparing the attempt and in concealing its traces. The entire leadership of the Communist Party participated in the preparation of the attempt; a section of the leadership also participated in the actual execution.

The moral preparation proceeded chiefly in the form of systematic, deliberate, and malevolent slander against me; and furthermore this slander contained the gravest and most injurious accusations.

After the commission of the attempt the same individuals

tried to dupe the investigating authorities and public opinion by means of a new torrent of slander (the theory of "self-assault," etc.).

All this work from beginning to end corresponded to the tasks and interests of the GPU and was fulfilled on its orders. The leaders of the Mexican Communist Party and the editors of *La Voz de Mexico* acted as agents of the GPU. There is no "defamation" whatever in the statement that they, like all other agents of the GPU, must receive the pay of the GPU. I have adduced in addition numerous proofs that the leaders of the sections of the Comintern in all countries of the world are in the pay of the Kremlin.

People who made their political careers on the basis of slanders about me should be the last to speak about defamation. I have presented above specimens of this slander. It is impossible to conceive of slander with worse intentions.

I therefore express the conviction that Mexican justice will not only reject the charge of defamation against me but hold the editors of *La Voz de Mexico* responsible for slander and will sentence them to the heaviest punishment corresponding to the systematic nature and malevolent character of their slander.

## ANOTHER THOUGHT ON CONSCRIPTION<sup>255</sup>

August 17, 1940

Dear Chris:

Thank you very much for the Tanaka material. It has arrived in plenty of time, because for the past two and a half months I have been busy almost exclusively with the investigation of the assault.

I very much enjoyed your appreciation of the anti-pacifist position accepted by the party. There are two great advantages to this position: first, it is revolutionary in its essence and based upon the whole character of our epoch, when all questions will be decided not only by arms of critics, but by critiques of arms; second, it is completely free of sectarianism. We do not oppose to events and to the feelings of the masses an abstract affirmation of our sanctity.

The poor *Labor Action* of August 12 writes: "In his fight against conscription we are with Lewis 100 percent." We are not with Lewis for even a single percent, because Lewis tries to defend the capitalist fatherland with completely outdated means. The great majority of the workers understand or feel that these means (professional voluntary armament) are outdated from a military point of view and extremely dangerous from a class point of view. That is why the workers are for conscription. It is a very confused and contradictory form of adhering to the "arming of the proletariat." We do not flatly reject this great historical change, as do the sectarians of all kinds. We say "Conscription? Yes. But made by ourselves." It is an excellent point of departure.

With best greeting, I am,

Fraternally,  
Your Old Man

## **WELCOME TO OUR SMALL GARRISON<sup>256</sup>**

**August 18, 1940**

Dear Comrade R.:

During the last two years there has been more than one discussion about your coming here. Next to the last time we waited for you when your daughter and her husband visited us. The last time it was when Jim Cannon and Farrell Dobbs and Joe Hansen came here to check the situation after the assault.

Now we hear that the matter is being discussed again. Of course the decision is completely up to the party and you, since you should know better there on the ground if your trip would be detrimental to the party and trade union work. I can only express the wish from our local and very "provincial" point of view that your visit announced so many times should really be carried out. I am sure that your visit even for a couple of weeks would be of high value for our small garrison not to mention the pleasure of meeting you.

You will of course find a room and a plate in our home.  
With best comradely greetings,

L. Trotsky

## LETTER TO HENRY SHULTZ<sup>257</sup>

August 20, 1940

My dear Hank:

Please do not think that we have forgotten you, because we have not yet sent the photographs. Everything is slower here, as you know from your own experience in the reconstruction of the house.

From Joe's letters you probably know that we have made some progress during the past weeks, but we are still far from the end.

How are your feet, and your health in general? I hope that the soil of the fatherland is more favorable to your general status. And how are your wife and daughter?

I received an excellent gift from Grace [Carlson]—a dictionary of slang. There is only one difficulty—that at meal-times I must permanently keep this book in my hands in order to be able to understand the conversation. However, I shall try to study it between meals in order to better check the "academic" part of the household. In the part I have already studied, which is devoted to college slang, I had hoped to find some abbreviations for the various sciences, philosophical theories, etc., but instead I found merely about twenty-five expressions for an attractive girl. Nothing at all about dialectics or materialism. I see that the official "science" is a bit unilateral.

The *Northwest Organizer* becomes more precise—more aggressive—more political. We enjoyed it very much.

With friendliest and warmest greetings from household to household, I am,

Fraternally yours,  
L. Trotsky

## **LETTERS TO CLASS WAR PRISONERS<sup>258</sup>**

**August 20, 1940**

Dear Comrade Edward:

Jake Cooper tells me that you will be released from your provisional asylum on August 23.

It is always preferable to leave than to enter such a place.  
My warmest congratulations and wishes.

Fraternally yours,  
L. Trotsky

Dear Comrade Max:

I learned from my friend Jake Cooper that on August 23 you will be released from jail.

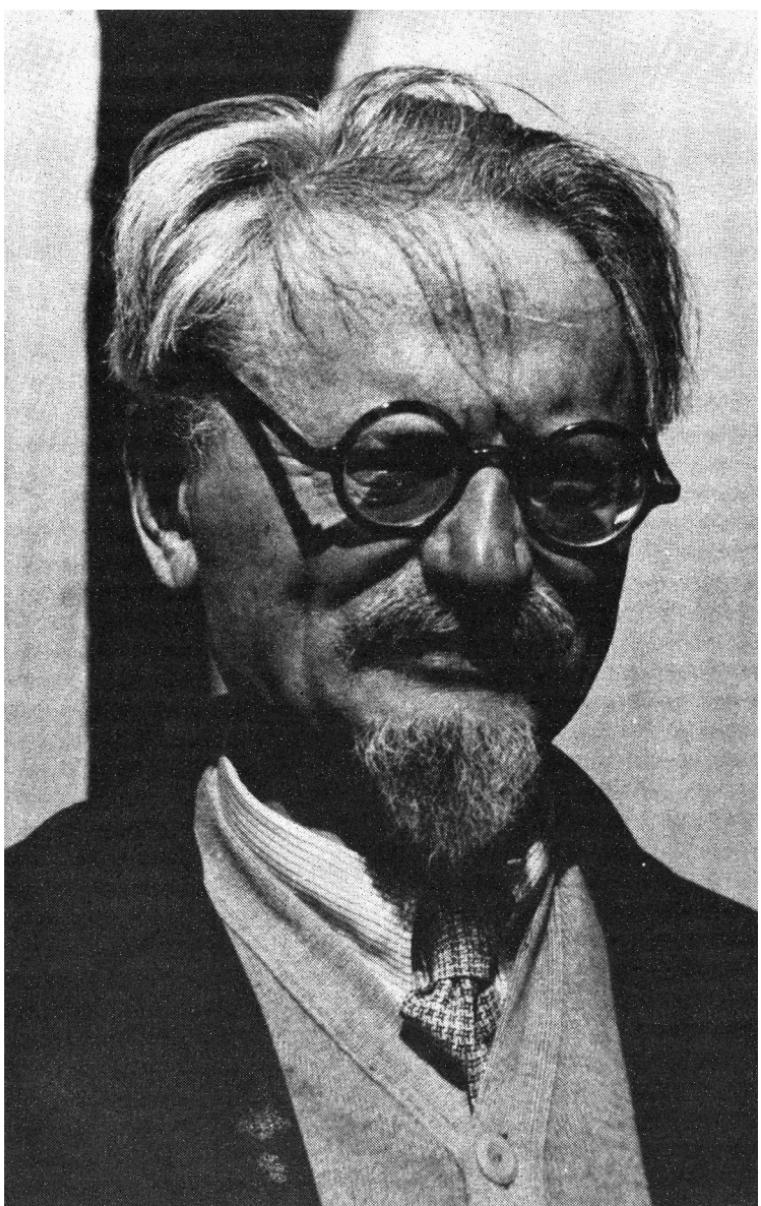
From my own personal experience I know that such a day is very agreeable.

I wish you all the best and especially — not to be hasty in visiting the same place. . . .

Fraternally yours,  
L. Trotsky



**UNFINISHED WRITINGS  
AND FRAGMENTS**



## DIALECTICS AND THE IMMUTABILITY OF THE SYLLOGISM<sup>259</sup>

In the same conversation the young British scholar said: "I understand the weight of the proposition that everything undergoes change and that, given these conditions, the immutability of the syllogism is incomprehensible; but I think that the syllogism is simply an agreement among people to understand specific concepts in one and the same sense, something like a rule in a game. . . . "

I replied to him that in the sphere of logic he had arrived at Rousseau's social contract in sociology. He took my remark as a joke. As a matter of fact it is quite precise and perhaps even too indulgent an appraisal of the logical method of my opponent. If one thinks the matter through as one should, it is difficult to believe that any man in the twentieth century with a knowledge of science, with a knowledge of evolution, could talk about the syllogism as being the product of agreement among people. Precisely in this is revealed the entire hopeless backwardness of the "scientific" method of this anti-dialectician. To say that people have come to an agreement about the syllogism is almost like saying, or more correctly it is exactly the same as saying, that people came to an agreement to have nostrils in their noses. The syllogism is no less an objective product of organic development, i.e., the biological, anthropological, and social development of humanity than are our various organs, among them our organ of smell.

American, or, generally, Anglo-Saxon empiricism contains both formal logic and dialectical logic within itself in undeveloped form, and does not distinguish between them. Pragmatism insofar as I understand it is precisely the philosophy of this undifferentiated combination of formal logic with the dialectic. But in all those cases where a representative of this empirical school of thought is compelled to leave his place of refuge, whenever he is compelled to bring his thoughts to a

conclusion, he falls into the most trivial rationalism, that is, whenever he proves himself incapable of rising to the dialectic. This is what happened with my British opponent on the question of the dialectic.

\* \* \*

On the question of the syllogism, let us take up the following argument as to why the syllogism, taken apart from all that exists, remains immutable: because the syllogism is simply an agreement arrived at between people that every concept should remain unchanged during a discussion, and so on. Here rationalism reveals to us its Achilles' heel. Being absolutely incapable of penetrating into the objective historical nature of society, Rousseau thought of society as the product of a contract between people; in the same way, the fetishists of formal logic arrive at Rousseau's theory (of the social contract) in the sphere of knowledge. However, the elements of syllogism do obtain among animals; the chicken knows that grain is in general useful, necessary, and tasty. It recognizes a given piece of grain as that grain—of the wheat—with which it is acquainted and hence draws a logical conclusion by means of its beak. The syllogism of Aristotle is only an articulated expression of those elementary mental conclusions which we observe at every step among animals. To speak therefore of the syllogism as the product of a contract is absolutely ludicrous. It is doubly ludicrous in relation to the past because it rationalizes our entire previous history, and furthermore it is especially ludicrous in relation to the future. It turns out that our biblical and pre-biblical ancestors were capable of arriving at an agreement concerning such forms of thought as preserve their compulsory and imperishable force for all time to come.

\* \* \*

Logical thinking, formal logical thinking in general, is constructed on the basis of the deductive method, proceeding from a more general syllogism through a number of premises to the necessary conclusion. Such a chain of syllogisms is called a sorites. It is well known with what ease Anglo-Saxon thought breaks the chain of syllogisms and, under the influence of purely empirical data and considerations, arrives at conclusions which have no connection whatever with the previous

logical chain. We see this especially clearly in the sphere of politics, as well as in other spheres. Thus the cult of the syllogism is not at all characteristic of Anglo-Saxon thought. On the contrary, it is possible to say that this [school of] thought is distinguished by a sovereign-empirical contempt for the pure syllogism, which did not prevent the English from making colossal conquests in many spheres of scientific investigation. If one really thinks this through as one should, then it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion that the empirical disregard for the syllogism is a primitive form of dialectical thinking; with the aim of purely empirical corrections, the English save themselves from the formal-logical emptiness of the syllogism, i.e., to a certain extent they attain that which can more fully, much better, on a much broader scale, and more systematically be attained through dialectical thinking.

\* \* \*

Anglo-Saxon thinking and to a large extent that of the French, with difficulty submits to the dialectic because of historical factors. France is the land of the syllogism. The entire struggle against the dialectic is conducted in the name of the sovereign rights of the syllogism. The syllogism is looked upon not as an instrument of our consciousness in the process of its adaptation to nature and the growing knowledge of nature, in short not as a psychological formation that has a relative, logical, i.e., conscious value, but rather as a distinct super-historical absolute which determines and controls all our cognitive processes and thereby our consciousness [as well]. The fetishists of formal-logical thinking [represent] a form of logical idealism. . . .

\* \* \*

Human thought has assimilated the cosmogony of Kant and LaPlace, the geology of Lyell, the biology of Darwin, the sociology of Marx, which analyze every existing thing in the process of its uninterrupted change, evolution, development, catastrophes, etc. But for formal logic the syllogism remains immutable; it does not appear as an instrument, a historical lever of our consciousness in the process of its adaptation to external nature with the aim of learning about nature—in a word, not a concrete historical formation conditioned

by the circumstances of time and place, including the structure of our consciousness, the scope of its experience, etc. On the contrary, the syllogism appears as a once-and-for-all-given form of comprehending external events. The syllogism stands above these events, above humanity itself and its consciousness, above matter, and is the eternal beginning, immutable and all-powerful, for it controls all our activity; in other words the syllogism is invested with all the attributes of God.

\* \* \*

Dr. John Dewey writes that my world outlook partakes of teleology. I place before myself certain social goals (socialism) and at the same time deduce from this that the objective development of my consciousness has prepared all the necessary conditions for the realization of these goals. The dialectic in this sense appears to Dewey to be akin to religion, which views the historical process as the fulfillment of divine prescriptions.

\* \* \*

In no case is it permissible to accuse Anglo-Saxons of excessive worship of the syllogism. On the contrary, their thought is permeated with a spirit of compromise in the form of empiricism or in the form of pragmatism which is a partial expression of this same empiricism. A Britisher easily departs from his democratic syllogism in order to put on abbreviated court knickers and bow before His Majesty. An English scholar readily breaks the thread of the syllogism in order to bow before religion. This tradition has been wholly borrowed by the United States.

But if the Anglo-Saxon does not consider himself, in contrast to the Latin peoples, bound by the compulsory force of the syllogism, then he attempts [to defend himself] before the highest form of logical thought, namely, before the dialectic. In the struggle against the dialectic or in self-defense against the dialectic our empirical or pragmatic Anglo-Saxon turns out to be the captive of the syllogism, as the highest, and sole immutable, form of human thought. In the struggle against the revolutionary dialectic the syllogism still remains a better or a less compromised weapon than the empirical compromise of religion. Similarly, in defense of the interests of British imperialism, an appeal to democracy appears more convincing than an appeal to the rights of the British monarch.

\* \* \*

"We do not know anything about the world except what is provided through experience." This is correct if one does not understand experience in the sense of the direct testimony of our individual five senses. If we reduce the matter to experience in the narrow empirical sense, then it is impossible for us to arrive at any judgment concerning either the origin of the species or, still less, the formation of the earth's crust. To say that the basis for everything is experience is to say too much or to say nothing at all. Experience is the active interrelationship between subject and object. To analyze experience outside this category, i.e., outside the objective material milieu of the investigator who is counterposed to it and who from another standpoint is a part of this milieu—to do this is to dissolve experience in a formless unity where there is neither object nor subject but only the mystical formula of experience. "Experiment" or "experience" of this kind is peculiar only to a baby in its mother's womb, but unfortunately the baby is deprived of the opportunity to share the scientific conclusions of its experiment.

\* \* \*

In order to deal me a blow in the most vital spot Burnham informs me that in the university textbooks on logic that he deals with, the dialectic is not mentioned at all. He should have added that in the university courses on political economy Marx's labor theory of value is not mentioned either, or it is mentioned only under the sign of condemnation. And the main thing that should have been mentioned is that in the university textbook there is no mention, or only a condemnation, of historical materialism. In the courses in civil law there is no exposition, or only a condemnation, of the socialist attitude toward property forms, etc., etc. . . . From the fact that the dialectic is not mentioned in the university textbooks [it is essential] to draw some conclusions about the class nature of official scholarship—its fear of revolution, the inability of bourgeois thought to go beyond the limits of empirical tasks, etc. For Burnham and his ilk the banning of Marxism from official scholarship suffices to disprove the scientific nature of Marxism.

\* \* \*

Common sense opposed to religion is progressive. But common sense opposed to science is reactionary and stupid.

\* \* \*

The aphorism of His Majesty's Opposition, "The state is created for man and not man for the state" represents a circular model of nationalistic rationalistic thinking. As a matter of fact this aphorism expresses merely the demands of the bourgeois that the state trouble him as little as possible. From the scientific point of view this aphorism does not in the slightest way express a correct relationship between the individual and the state. The individual in the modern world to a far greater measure is created by the state than the state by the individual. That is why it is an outright rationalization to assign to the creation of the state a definite goal dictated by individual personal interests.

## ON UTILITARIANISM<sup>260</sup>

The entire philosophy of British utilitarianism is derived in the last analysis from a cook book. In order to make people happy it is necessary to introduce such and such reforms, such and such improvements. In order to prepare a pudding for twelve it is necessary to take two pounds of flour, so many eggs, so much sugar, plums, and so on. In its specifications the cook book presupposes that flour, plums, etc., are always available in necessary amounts and ready to hand. Similarly, the empiricist-utilitarians from Jeremy Bentham down to the latter-day pragmatists consider it sufficient to issue "practical" prescriptions in order to assure the salvation of society.<sup>261</sup> So far as the organic laws of society itself are concerned, they prefer not to bother their heads about them. These gentlemen have not become accustomed to thinking about the organic laws which govern the development of society, for the simple reason that their forefathers had achieved uninterrupted progress without understanding either its sources or its laws. It is noteworthy that British methods have found their greatest flowering on American soil.

## ON THE FUTURE OF HITLER'S ARMIES<sup>262</sup>

Hitler's soldiers are German workers and peasants. After the betrayal of the Social Democracy and of the Comintern, these workers and peasants in large numbers succumbed to the fumes of chauvinism, thanks to the unprecedented military victories. But the reality of class relations is stronger than chauvinist intoxication.

The armies of occupation must live side by side with the conquered peoples; they must observe the impoverishment and despair of the toiling masses; they must observe the latter's attempts at resistance and protest, at first muffled and then more and more open and bold.

On the other hand, the German military and bureaucratic caste, after a series of victories and robberies of Europe, will rise still higher above the people, will flaunt more and more its powers, its privileges, and become demoralized like every caste of upstarts.

The German soldiers, that is, the workers and peasants, will in the majority of cases have far more sympathy for the vanquished peoples than for their own ruling caste. The necessity to act at every step in the capacity of "pacifiers" and oppressors will swiftly disintegrate the armies of occupation, infecting them with a revolutionary spirit.

## CHINA AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION<sup>263</sup>

The day I learned that my *History of the Russian Revolution* was to be published in the Chinese language was a holiday for me. Now I have received word that the work of translation has been speeded up and that the first volume will be issued next year.

Let me express the firm hope that the book will prove profitable to Chinese readers. Whatever may be the shortcomings of my work, one thing I can say with assurance: Facts are there presented with complete conscientiousness; that is, on the basis of verification with original sources; and in any case, not a single fact is altered or distorted in the interests of this or that preconceived theory or, what is worse yet, in the interests of this or that personal reputation.

The misfortune of the present young generation in all countries, among them China, consists in this: that there has been created under the label of Marxism a gigantic factory of historical, theoretical, and all other kinds of falsifications. This factory bears the name "Communist International." The totalitarian regime, i.e., the regime of bureaucratic command in all spheres of life, inescapably seeks to extend its rule also over the past. History becomes transformed into raw material for whatever constructions are required by the ruling totalitarian clique. This fate was suffered by the October Revolution and by the history of the Bolshevik Party. The latest and to date most finished document of falsification and frame-up is the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, issued some time ago under the personal direction of Stalin. In the entire library of mankind I do not know, and hardly anyone else knows, of a book in which facts, documents—and furthermore facts known to everybody—are so dishonestly altered, mangled, or simply deleted from the march of events

in the interests of glorifying a single human being, namely Stalin.

Thanks to the unlimited material resources at the disposal of the falsifiers, the rude and untalented falsification has been translated into all the languages of civilized mankind and circulated by compulsion in millions and tens of millions of copies.

We have at our disposal neither such financial resources nor such a colossal apparatus. But we do dispose of something greater: concern for historical truth and a correct scientific method. A falsification, even one compiled by a mighty state apparatus, cannot withstand the test of time and in the long run is blown up because of its internal contradictions. On the contrary, historical truth, established through a scientific method, has its own internal persuasiveness and in the long run gains mastery over minds. The very necessity of reviewing, i.e., recasting and altering—still more precisely, falsifying—the history of the revolution, arose from this: that the bureaucracy found itself compelled to sever the umbilical cord binding it to the Bolshevik Party. To recast, i.e., to falsify the history of the revolution, became an urgent necessity for the bureaucracy which usurped the revolution and found itself compelled to cut short the tradition of Bolshevism.

The essence of Bolshevism was the class policy of the proletariat, which alone would bring about the conquest of power in October. In the course of its entire history, Bolshevism came out irreconcilably against the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Precisely in this consisted the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevism and Menshevism. Still more, the struggle within the labor movement, which preceded the rise of Bolshevism and Menshevism, always in the last analysis revolved around the central question, the central alternative: either collaboration with the bourgeoisie or irreconcilable class struggle. The policy of "People's Fronts" does not include an iota of novelty, if we discount the solemn and essentially charlatan name. The matter at issue in all cases concerns the political subordination of the proletariat to the left wing of the exploiters, regardless of whether this practice bears the name of coalition or Left Bloc (as in France) or "People's Front" in the language of the Comintern.

The policy of the "People's Front" bore especially malignant fruit because it was applied in the epoch of the imperialist decay of the bourgeoisie. Stalin succeeded in conducting to the end, in the Chinese revolution, the policy which the

Mensheviks tried to realize in the revolution of 1917. The same thing was repeated in Spain. Two grandiose revolutions suffered catastrophe owing to this: that the methods of the leadership were the methods of Stalinism, i.e., the most malignant form of Menshevism.

In the course of five years, the policy of the "People's Front," by subjecting the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, made impossible the class struggle against war. If the defeat of the Chinese revolution, conditioned by the leadership of the Comintern, prepared the conditions for Japanese occupation, then the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the ignominious capitulation of the "People's Front" in France prepared the conditions for the aggression and unprecedented military successes of Hitler.

The victories of Japan, like the victories of Hitler, are not the last word of history. War this time, too, will turn out to be the mother of revolutions. Revolution will once again pose and review all the questions of the history of mankind in advanced as well as in backward countries, and make a beginning for overcoming the very distinction between advanced and backward countries.

Reformists, opportunists, routinists will be flung aside by the course of events. Only revolutionists, tempered revolutionists enriched by the experience of the past, will be able to rise to the level of great events. The Chinese people are destined to occupy the first place in the future destinies of mankind. I shall be happy if the advanced Chinese revolutionists will assimilate from this history certain fundamental rules of class politics which will help them to avoid fatal mistakes in the future, mistakes which led to the shipwreck of the revolution of 1925-27.

## BONAPARTISM, FASCISM, AND WAR<sup>264</sup>

In his very pretentious, very muddled, and stupid article ["National Defense: The Case for Socialism," *Partisan Review*, July-August 1940], Dwight Macdonald tries to represent us as holding the view that fascism is simply a repetition of Bonapartism. A greater piece of nonsense would be hard to invent. We have analyzed fascism as it developed, throughout the various stages of its development, and advanced to the forefront now one, now another of its aspects. There is an element of Bonapartism in fascism. Without this element, namely, without the raising of state power above society owing to an extreme sharpening of the class struggle, fascism would have been impossible. But we pointed out from the very beginning that it was primarily a question of Bonapartism of the epoch of imperialist decline, which is qualitatively different from Bonapartism of the epoch of bourgeois rise. At the next stage we separated out pure Bonapartism as the prologue to a fascist regime. Because in the case of pure Bonapartism the rule of a monarch is approximated. [ . . . ]

The ministries of Bruening, Schleicher, and the presidency of Hindenburg in Germany,<sup>265</sup> Petain's government in France—they all have proved, or must prove, unstable. In the epoch of imperialist decline a pure Bonapartist Bonapartism is completely inadequate; imperialism finds it indispensable to mobilize the petty bourgeoisie and to crush the proletariat under its weight. Imperialism is capable of fulfilling this task only in case the proletariat itself reveals its inability to conquer power, while the social crisis drives the petty bourgeoisie into a condition of paroxysm.

The sharpness of the social crisis arises from this, that with today's concentration of the means of production, i.e., the monopoly of trusts, the law of value—the market is already

incapable of regulating economic relations. State intervention becomes an absolute necessity. [ . . . ]

The present war, as we have stated on more than one occasion, is a continuation of the last war. But a continuation does not signify a repetition. As a general rule, a continuation signifies a development, a deepening, a sharpening. Our policy, the policy of the revolutionary proletariat toward the second imperialist war, is a continuation of the policy elaborated during the last imperialist war, primarily under Lenin's leadership. But a continuation does not signify a repetition. In this case too, a continuation signifies a development, a deepening and a sharpening.

During the last war not only the proletariat as a whole but also its vanguard and, in a certain sense, the vanguard of this vanguard was caught unawares. The elaboration of the principles of revolutionary policy toward the war began at a time when the war was already in full blaze and the military machine exercised unlimited rule. One year after the outbreak of the war, the small revolutionary minority was still compelled to accommodate itself to a centrist majority at the Zimmerwald Conference.<sup>266</sup> Prior to the February revolution and even afterwards the revolutionary elements felt themselves to be not contenders for power but the extreme left opposition. Even Lenin relegated the socialist revolution to a more or less distant future . . .<sup>267</sup> If that is how Lenin viewed the situation, then there is hardly any need of talking about the others.

This political position of the extreme left wing expressed itself most graphically on the question of the defense of the fatherland.

In 1915 Lenin referred in his writings to revolutionary wars which the victorious proletariat would have to wage. But it was a question of an indefinite historical perspective and not of tomorrow's task. The attention of the revolutionary wing was centered on the question of the defense of the capitalist fatherland. The revolutionists naturally replied to this question in the negative. This was entirely correct. But while this purely negative answer served as the basis for propaganda and for training the cadres, it could not win the masses, who did not want a foreign conquerer.

In Russia prior to the war the Bolsheviks constituted four-fifths of the proletarian vanguard, that is, of the workers participating in political life (newspapers, elections, etc.). Following the February revolution the unlimited rule passed into the hands of defensists, the Mensheviks and the SRs.<sup>268</sup> True

enough, the Bolsheviks in the space of eight months conquered the overwhelming majority of the workers. But the decisive role in this conquest was played not by the refusal to defend the bourgeois fatherland but by the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" And only by this revolutionary slogan! The criticism of imperialism, its militarism, the renunciation of the defense of bourgeois democracy and so on could have never conquered the overwhelming majority of the people to the side of the Bolsheviks. . . .

Insofar as the proletariat proves incapable at a given stage of conquering power, imperialism begins regulating economic life with its own methods; the fascist party which becomes the state power is the political mechanism. The productive forces are in irreconcilable contradiction not only with private property but also with national state boundaries. Imperialism is the very expression of this contradiction. Imperialist capitalism seeks to solve this contradiction through an extension of boundaries, seizure of new territories, and so on. The totalitarian state, subjecting all aspects of economic, political and cultural life to finance capital, is the instrument for creating a supranationalist state, an imperialist empire, the rule over continents, the rule over the whole world.

All these traits of fascism we have analyzed, each one by itself and all of them in their totality, to the extent that they became manifest or came to the forefront.

Both theoretical analysis as well as the rich historical experience of the last quarter of a century have demonstrated with equal force that fascism is each time the final link of a specific political cycle composed of the following: the gravest crisis of capitalist society; the growth of the radicalization of the working class; the growth of sympathy toward the working class and a yearning for change on the part of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie; the extreme confusion of the big bourgeoisie; its cowardly and treacherous maneuvers aimed at avoiding the revolutionary climax; the exhaustion of the proletariat; growing confusion and indifference; the aggravation of the social crisis; the despair of the petty bourgeoisie, its yearning for change; the collective neurosis of the petty bourgeoisie, its readiness to believe in miracles; its readiness for violent measures; the growth of hostility towards the proletariat which has deceived its expectations. These are the premises for a swift formation of a fascist party and its victory.

It is quite self-evident that the radicalization of the working class in the United States has passed only through its initial

phases, almost exclusively in the sphere of the trade union movement (the CIO). The prewar period, and then the war itself, may temporarily interrupt this process of radicalization, especially if a considerable number of workers are absorbed into war industry. But this interruption of the process of radicalization cannot be of a long duration. The second stage of radicalization will assume a more sharply expressive character. The problem of forming an independent labor party will be put on the order of the day. Our transitional demands will gain great popularity. On the other hand, the fascist, reactionary tendencies will withdraw to the background, assuming a defensive position, awaiting a more favorable moment. This is the nearest perspective. No occupation is more completely unworthy than that of speculating whether or not we shall succeed in creating a powerful revolutionary leader-party. Ahead lies a favorable perspective, providing all the justification for revolutionary activism. It is necessary to utilize the opportunities which are opening up and to build the revolutionary party.

The Second World War poses the question of change of regimes more imperiously, more urgently than did the first war. It is first and foremost a question of the political regime. The workers are aware that democracy is suffering shipwreck everywhere, and that they are threatened by fascism even in those countries where fascism is as yet nonexistent. The bourgeoisie of the democratic countries will naturally utilize this dread of fascism on the part of the workers, but, on the other hand, the bankruptcy of democracies, their collapse, their painless transformation into reactionary dictatorships, compel the workers to pose before themselves the problem of power, and render them responsive to the posing of the problem of power.

Reaction wields today such power as perhaps never before in the modern history of mankind. But it would be an inexcusable blunder to see only reaction. The historical process is a contradictory one. Under the cover of official reaction profound processes are taking place among the masses who are accumulating experience and are becoming receptive to new political perspectives. The old conservative tradition of the democratic state which was so powerful even during the era of the last imperialist war exists today only as an extremely unstable survival. On the eve of the last war the European workers had numerically powerful parties. But on the order of the day were put reforms, partial conquests, and not at all the conquest of power.

The American working class is still without a mass labor party even today. But the objective situation and the experience accumulated by the American workers can pose within a very brief period of time on the order of the day the question of the conquest of power. This perspective must be made the basis of our agitation. It is not merely a question of a position on capitalist militarism and of renouncing the defense of the bourgeois state but of directly preparing for the conquest of power and the defense of the proletarian fatherland.

May not the Stalinists turn out at the head of a new revolutionary upsurge, and may they not ruin the revolution as they did in Spain and previously in China? It is of course impermissible to consider that such a possibility is excluded, for example in France. The first wave of the revolution has often, or more correctly, always carried to the top those "left" parties which have not managed to discredit themselves completely in the preceding period and which have an imposing political tradition behind them. Thus the February revolution raised up the Mensheviks and the SRs who were the opponents of the revolution on its very eve. Thus the German revolution in November 1918 raised to power the Social Democrats, who were the irreconcilable opponents of revolutionary uprisings.

Twelve years ago Trotsky wrote in an article published by the *New Republic*:

"No other epoch in the history of man has been so filled with antagonisms as our own. Under the too-high tension of class and international antagonisms, the safety switches of democracy fuse or break. This is the essence of the short circuit of dictatorship. The first to give way, of course, are the weakest switches. Internal and world antagonisms, however, are not declining but growing. It is doubtful if they are destined to calm down, given that the process has so far only taken hold of the periphery of the capitalist world. Gout begins with the big toe, but once it has begun, it reaches the heart." ["Which Way Russia?" *New Republic*, May 22, 1929]

This was written at a time when the entire bourgeois democracy in each country believed that fascism was possible only in the backward countries which had not yet graduated from the school of democracy. The editorial board of the *New Republic*, which at that period had not yet been touched with the blessings of the GPU, accompanied Trotsky's article with one of its own. The article is so characteristic of the average

American philistine that we shall quote from it the most interesting passages.

"In view of his personal misfortunes, the exiled Russian leader shows a remarkable power of detached analysis; but his detachment is that of the rigid Marxian, and seems to us to lack a realistic view of history—the very thing on which he prides himself. His notion that democracy is a fair-weather form of government, incapable of withstanding the storms of international or domestic controversy, can be supported (as he himself half admits) only by taking for your examples countries where democracy has never made more than the feeblest beginnings, and countries, moreover, in which the industrial revolution has hardly more than started."

Further on, the editorial board of the *New Republic* dismisses the instance of Kerensky's democracy in Soviet Russia and why it failed to withstand the test of class contradictions and yielded place to a revolutionary perspective. The periodical sagely writes:

"Kerensky's weakness was an historic accident, which Trotsky cannot admit because there is no room in his mechanistic scheme for any such thing."

Just like Dwight Macdonald, the *New Republic* accused the Marxists of being unable to understand history realistically owing to their orthodox or mechanistic approach to political events. The *New Republic* was of the opinion that fascism is the product of the backwardness of capitalism and not its overripeness. In the opinion of that periodical which, I repeat, was the opinion of the overwhelming majority of average democratic philistines, fascism is the lot of backward bourgeois countries.

The sage editorial board did not even take the trouble of thinking about the question of why it was the universal conviction in the nineteenth century that backward democracies must develop along the road of democracy. In any case, in the old capitalist countries democracy came into its rights at a time when the level of their economic development was not above but below the economic development of modern Italy. And what is more, in that era democracy represented the main highway of historical development which was entered by all countries one by one, the backward ones following the more advanced and sometimes ahead of them. Our era on the contrary is the era of democracy's collapse, and moreover, the collapse begins with the weaker links but gradually extends to those which appeared strong and impregnable. Thus the

orthodox or mechanistic, that is, the Marxist approach to events enabled us to forecast the course of developments many years in advance. On the contrary, the realistic approach of the *New Republic* represented the approach of a blind kitten. The *New Republic* followed up its critical attitude toward Marxism by falling under the influence of the most revolting caricature of Marxism, namely, Stalinism.

Most of the philistines of the newest crop base their attacks on Marxism on the fact that contrary to Marx's prognosis fascism came instead of socialism. Nothing is more stupid and vulgar than this criticism. Marx demonstrated and proved that when capitalism reaches a certain level the only way out for society lies in the socialization of the means of production, i.e., socialism. He also demonstrated that in view of the class structure of society the proletariat alone is capable of solving this task in an irreconcilable revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. He further demonstrated that for the fulfillment of this task the proletariat needs a revolutionary party.

All his life Marx, and together with him and after him Engels, and after them Lenin, waged an irreconcilable struggle against those traits in proletarian parties, socialist parties, which obstructed the solution of the revolutionary historical task. The irreconcilability of the struggle waged by Marx, Engels, and Lenin against opportunism, on the one side, and anarchism, on the other, demonstrates that they did not at all underestimate this danger. In what did it consist? In this, that the opportunism of the summits of the working class, subject to the bourgeoisie's influence, could obstruct, slow down, make more difficult, postpone the fulfillment of the revolutionary task of the proletariat.

It is precisely this condition of society that we are now observing. Fascism did not at all come "instead" of socialism. Fascism is the continuation of capitalism, an attempt to perpetuate its existence by means of the most bestial and monstrous measures. Capitalism obtained an opportunity to resort to fascism only because the proletariat did not accomplish the socialist revolution in time. The proletariat was paralyzed in the fulfillment of its task by the opportunist parties. The only thing that can be said is that there turned out to be more obstacles, more difficulties, more stages on the road of the revolutionary development of the proletariat than was foreseen by the founders of scientific socialism. Fascism and the series of imperialist wars constitute the terrible school in which the proletariat has to free itself of petty-bourgeois traditions and

superstitions, has to rid itself of opportunist, democratic, and adventurist parties, has to hammer out and train the revolutionary vanguard, and in this way prepare for the solving of the task apart from which there is not and cannot be any salvation for the development of mankind.

Eastman, if you please, has come to the conclusion that the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the state endangers his "freedom" and he has therefore decided to renounce socialism.<sup>269</sup> This anecdote deserves to be included in the text of a history of ideology. The socialization of the means of production is the only solution to the economic problem at the given stage of mankind's development. The delay in solving this problem leads to the barbarism of fascism. All the intermediate solutions undertaken by the bourgeoisie with the help of the petty bourgeoisie have suffered a miserable and shameful fiasco. All this is absolutely uninteresting to Eastman. He noticed that his "freedom" (freedom of muddling, freedom of indifferentism, freedom of passivity, freedom of literary dilettantism) was being threatened from various sides, and he decided immediately to apply his own measure: renounce socialism. Astonishingly enough this decision exercised no influence either on Wall Street or on the policy of the trade unions. Life went its own way just as if Max Eastman had remained a socialist [ . . . ]

In France there is no fascism in the real sense of the term. The regime of the senile Marshal Petain represents a senile form of Bonapartism of the epoch of imperialist decline. But this regime too proved possible only after the prolonged radicalization of the French working class, which led to the explosion of June 1936, had failed to find a revolutionary way out. The Second and Third Internationals, the reactionary charlatanism of the "People's Fronts," deceived and demoralized the working class. After five years of propaganda in favor of an alliance of democracies and of collective security, after Stalin's sudden passage into Hitler's camp, the French working class proved caught unawares. The war provoked a terrible disorientation and the mood of passive defeatism, or to put it more correctly, the indifferentism of an impasse. From this web of circumstances arose first the unprecedented military catastrophe and then the despicable Petain regime.

Precisely because Petain's regime is senile Bonapartism, it contains no element of stability and can be overthrown by a revolutionary mass uprising much sooner than a fascist regime.

In every discussion of political topics the question invariably flares up: Shall we succeed in creating a strong party for the moment when the crisis comes? might not fascism anticipate us? isn't a fascist stage of development inevitable? The successes of fascism easily make people lose all perspective, lead them to forget the actual conditions which made the strengthening and the victory of fascism possible. Yet a clear understanding of these conditions is of especial importance to the workers of the United States. We may set it down as a historical law: fascism was able to conquer only in those countries where the conservative labor parties prevented the proletariat from utilizing the revolutionary situation and seizing power. In Germany two revolutionary situations were involved: 1918-19 and 1923-24.<sup>270</sup> Even in 1929 a direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat was still possible. In all these three cases the Social Democracy and the Comintern criminally and viciously disrupted the conquest of power and thereby placed society in an impasse. Only under these conditions and in this situation did the stormy rise of fascism and its gaining of power prove possible.

## NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

1. "On the Eve of World War II." *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1969. This interview in Coyoacan, Mexico, was granted by Trotsky to the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, a group headed by Professor Hubert Herring, the author of *A History of Latin America*. Trotsky spoke in English, and the interview was taken down in shorthand by one of his secretaries, who later made an uncorrected transcript that was presented to the group. A few obvious stylistic corrections have been made in the text for this volume. At the time of this interview, July 23, 1939, Europe was poised on the brink of the Second World War. In March, Franco's fascist forces had defeated the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War, and at the same time Hitler had occupied Czechoslovakia. Throughout the spring and summer, British and French diplomats engaged in intense negotiations with Moscow; behind the scenes, Moscow was at the same time negotiating with the Germans. A month after this interview, Stalin would sign a "nonaggression" pact with Hitler that would precipitate the invasion and partition of Poland and the outset of the war.

2. New York City was the site of the *World's Fair* of 1939.

3. **Mikhail Tukhachevsky** (1893-1937), an outstanding military commander in the Russian civil war, was appointed marshal of the USSR in 1933. On Stalin's orders, he and several other outstanding Red Army generals were charged with treason in May 1937, and were executed. Their executions opened a purge that affected 25,000 officers and decapitated the Red Army on the eve of the war. After Stalin's death, Tukhachevsky and many of the other generals were exonerated.

4. From 1936 to 1938, Stalin conducted three big **Moscow confession show trials**, accusing most of the leaders of the Russian Revolution of plotting to restore capitalism. The main defendants in the proceedings were Trotsky, in absentia, and his son, Leon Sedov. Through these trials, Stalin consolidated his personal rule over the Soviet Union.

5. **Maxim Litvinov** (1876-1951), an Old Bolshevik, was people's commissar for foreign affairs, 1930-39, ambassador to the United States, 1941-43, and deputy commissar for foreign affairs, 1943-46. Stalin used him to personify "collective security" when he sought

alliances with the democratic imperialists and shelved him during the Stalin-Hitler pact period and the cold war.

6. The Political Bureau was the ruling body of the Russian Communist Party, although ostensibly it was subordinate to the Central Committee. The first Political Bureau, elected in 1919, consisted of Kamenev, Krestinsky, Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky. In 1939, its members were Andreyev, Kaganovich, Kalinin, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Molotov, Stalin, and Zhdanov. Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) became a Social Democrat in 1898, joined the Bolshevik faction in 1904, was coopted to its Central Committee in 1912, and elected to it for the first time in 1917. In 1917 he favored a conciliatory attitude to the Provisional Government before Lenin returned and reoriented the Bolsheviks toward winning power. He was elected commissar of nationalities in the first Soviet government, and general secretary of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) in 1922. Lenin called in 1923 for his removal from the post of general secretary because he was using it to bureaucratize the party and state apparatuses. After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin gradually eliminated his major opponents, starting with Trotsky, until he became virtual dictator of the party and the Soviet Union in the 1930s. The chief concepts associated with his name are "socialism in one country," "social fascism," and "peaceful coexistence."

7. Adolph Hitler (1889-1945) was appointed chancellor of Germany in January 1933 and, at the head of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party, led Germany into World War II.

8. Walter Krivitsky (1889-1941) was chief of the Soviet military intelligence in Western Europe. In 1937, while in Paris, he defected, and revealed numerous secrets of Soviet intelligence. He was the author of *In Stalin's Secret Service* (1939). He died under mysterious circumstances six months after the assassination of Trotsky.

9. Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) was Conservative prime minister of Britain from 1937 until May 1940, when he resigned after failing to receive a vote of confidence in Parliament for his prosecution of the war.

10. Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) was Democratic president of the United States from 1913 to 1921, including the period of World War I. Although he was the inspirer of the League of Nations, he was unable to get it ratified by the United States Senate. The League of Nations, which Lenin referred to as the "thieves' kitchen," was created by the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, ostensibly as a form of world government and cooperation that would prevent future wars. Its Article 16 provided powers of collective security that, on paper at least, gave its member states the obligation to invoke sanctions against acts of aggression by other states. Its complete impotence became clear when it was unable to have any effect on the Japanese invasion of China, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and other links in the chain that led to World War II.

11. At Munich, in September 1938, British prime minister Chamberlain and French premier Daladier signed a pact with Hitler and

Mussolini, acquiescing in Hitler's plan to invade and conquer Czechoslovakia.

12. "Socialism in one country" was Stalin's theory, introduced into the Marxist movement for the first time in 1924, that a socialist society could be achieved inside the borders of a single country. Later, when it was incorporated into the program and tactics of the Comintern, it became the ideological cover for the abandonment of revolutionary internationalism and was used to justify the conversion of the Communist parties throughout the world into docile pawns of the Kremlin's foreign policy. A comprehensive critique by Trotsky is in his 1928 book *The Third International After Lenin* (Pathfinder Press, 1972).

13. The Bolshevik Party was the majority tendency in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, following its second congress in 1903. It led the Soviets to power in October 1917. The Bolsheviks believed that the workers had to unite with the poor peasants, taking the lead in a struggle against the bourgeoisie. **Old Bolsheviks** were those who joined the party prior to 1917, that is, members of the party's "Old Guard."

14. Germany demanded the return of the Polish city Gdansk (Danzig) to Germany, and a strip of land across the Polish corridor to connect Germany proper with East Prussia. This was the pretext for the invasion of Poland.

15. The People's Front (or Popular Front) was a governmental coalition of the Communist and Socialist parties with bourgeois parties around a program of liberal capitalism. The Stalinists supported this policy in order to prevent a socialist transformation of Spain, because at that time Stalin was anxious to prove his loyalty to the bourgeois democracies so that they would include him in their diplomatic and military pacts. The People's Front permitted the bourgeoisie in Spain to stay in power during the crisis of the revolution and the Civil War (1936-39), and assured victory to the fascist troops under General **Francisco Franco** (1892- ), who organized the army of Spanish Morocco and, with military aid from Nazi Germany and Italy, overthrew the Spanish Republican government.

16. Norman Thomas (1884-1968) was the leader of the Socialist Party of the United States and was six times its candidate for president after Debs. Earl Browder (1891-1973) became general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States by Stalin's directive in 1930, and was similarly deposed in 1945 and expelled from the party in 1946. After the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939, the CP suddenly switched to an "antiwar" line; Roosevelt showed his displeasure by having Browder indicted and convicted for falsifying his passport. When the CP switched again in 1941, after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, Browder was released.

17. Hitler came to power in January 1933 at the head of an ultra-right coalition. It was not until March that the Reichstag voted to give him total dictatorial power. Trotsky's reference to June 1933 is probably a slip of the tongue or a misprint.

18. The **Second International** was organized in 1889 as a loose association of national Social Democratic and labor parties, uniting both revolutionary and reformist elements; its strongest and most authoritative section was the German Social Democracy. Its progressive role had ended by 1914, when its major sections violated the most elementary socialist principles and supported their own imperialist governments in World War I. It fell apart during the war, but was revived as a completely reformist organization in 1923. The **Third (or Communist) International** (or Comintern) was organized under Lenin's leadership as the revolutionary successor to the Second International. Trotsky regarded the theses of the Comintern's first four congresses as the programmatic cornerstone of the Left Opposition and the Fourth International. The Comintern's Seventh World Congress, in 1935, was its last. Stalin dissolved it in 1943 as a gesture of goodwill to his imperialist allies.

19. The **New Deal** was the program of reforms adopted during the Great Depression by U.S. President Roosevelt, as an attempt to buy off the militancy of the workers and alleviate the worst conditions of the Depression.

20. The expression **Sixty Families** derives from Ferdinand Lundberg's book *America's Sixty Families* (Vanguard Press, 1937). The book, a sensation when it appeared, documented the existence of an economic oligarchy in the U.S. headed by sixty families of immense wealth. The author brought the work up to date in 1968 with *The Rich and the Super-Rich*.

21. **Benito Mussolini** (1883-1945) was the fascist dictator of Italy from 1922 until he was overthrown in 1943; he ruled over only a part of Italy until his execution by partisans.

22. **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882-1945) was Democratic president of the United States from 1933 until his death. He was elected to his third term as president in November 1940.

23. The **Neutrality Act** was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1935, applying a mandatory arms embargo to both sides in the event of a European war. Congress passed a similar act two years later. The arms embargo was only lifted by Congress in November 1939; at that time it was replaced with "cash and carry" provisions allowing the Allies to buy war goods. By December 1940 the British could no longer pay for war supplies, and lend-lease went into effect, committing the economic resources of the United States to the defeat of Germany.

24. "India Faced with Imperialist War." **New International**, where it appeared under the title "An Open Letter to the Workers of India." **New International** was the magazine of the Socialist Workers Party, the U.S. section of the Fourth International, until April 1940, when it was taken over by Max Shachtman and his followers, who had split from the SWP to form their own organization. The SWP then began publishing **Fourth International**, whose name was later changed to **International Socialist Review**.

25. **Karl Marx** (1818-1883) and **Frederick Engels** (1820-1895)

were the founders of scientific socialism and leaders of the First International (International Workingmen's Association) from 1864 to 1876. In his last years, Engels was also the outstanding figure of the young Second International. **Vladimir Ilyich Lenin** (1870-1924) restored Marxism as the theory and practice of revolution in the imperialist epoch after it had been debased by the opportunists, revisionists, and fatalists of the Second International. He initiated the Bolshevik tendency, which was the first to point the way to building the kind of party needed to lead a working class revolution. He led the first victorious workers' revolution in 1917, and served as the first head of state of the Soviet government. He founded the Communist International and helped to elaborate its principles, strategy, and tactics. He prepared a fight against the bureaucratization of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet state, but died before he could carry it out. **Karl Liebknecht** (1871-1919) was a left-wing German Social Democrat and antimilitarist. He was the first to vote against war credits in the Reichstag in 1914. Imprisoned for anti-war activity from 1916 to 1918, he was a leader of the Berlin uprising of 1919. He was assassinated by government officers in January 1919.

26. **Mohandas Gandhi** (1869-1948) was the leader of the Indian National Congress, a nationalist movement that became the Congress Party of India. He organized massive opposition to British rule, but insisted on peaceful, nonviolent, passive resistance methods.

27. **The British Labour Party** was founded in 1906 and is affiliated to the Second International. The Conservative Party, or **Tories**, emerged in the eighteenth century from the old royalist party of the civil war, the Cavaliers. Formerly the party of the aristocracy, it exists in Britain today as the party of the current ruling class, the bourgeoisie.

28. **Clement Attlee** (1883-1967) was the leader of the British Labour Party after MacDonald, and was prime minister of Labour governments from 1945 to 1950. **Sir Walter Citrine** (1887- ) was the general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress from 1926 to 1946. He was knighted for his services to British capitalism in 1935, and was made a baronet in 1946.

29. **Dimitri Manuilsky** (1883-1952), like Trotsky, had been a member of the independent Marxist group that fused with the Bolshevik Party in 1917. In the 1920s he supported the Stalin faction and served as secretary of the Comintern from 1931 to 1943. The congress Trotsky refers to is the eighteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in March 1939.

30. **The German and Austrian revolutions** at the end of World War I were contained and defeated through coalitions of the Social Democracy with sections of the capitalist class that were willing to replace their monarchies with bourgeois democratic regimes. **The Chinese revolution** of 1925-27 was drowned in blood because the Chinese Communists, under orders from Moscow, entered the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang (People's Party), which was led by Chiang Kai-shek, and subordinated the revolution to the interests

of their coalition with the Kuomintang, which had no intention of permitting a social transformation of China. (Trotsky's reference was to the first edition of Isaacs's book; Isaacs later rewrote it after his break with Marxism.)

31. **The Left Opposition** (Bolshevik-Leninists or "Trotskyists") was formed in 1923 as a faction of the Russian Communist Party, and the International Left Opposition was formed in 1930 as a faction of the Comintern, with the aim of returning the Comintern to revolutionary principles. After the German Communist Party allowed Hitler to take power without lifting a finger, and the Comintern as a whole failed to even evaluate the defeat, Trotsky decided that the Comintern was dead as a revolutionary movement, and that a new revolutionary international had to be founded. The founding conference of the Fourth International was held in Paris in September 1938 (see *Documents of the Fourth International: The Formative Years [1933-40]* [Pathfinder Press, 1973]).

32. **The Congress Socialist Party** was the left wing of the Congress Party, which was then called the Indian National Congress, a nationalist movement led by Mohandas Gandhi. The CSP was led at the time by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose.

33. "Our International Organization." From the personal archives of James P. Cannon, then the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. Earlier that year Cannon had returned to New York from a mission to Paris, where the French section of the Fourth International was engaged in a paralyzing factional struggle over whether or not its members should enter a new centrist party, the PSOP (Workers and Peasants Socialist Party). As a security measure, this letter to Cannon, like many others of this period, was signed by Trotsky with the name of one of his secretaries.

34. **Rudolf Klement** was Trotsky's secretary in Turkey and France, and was secretary of the committee preparing the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938. He was murdered by the GPU in Paris shortly before the conference was held.

35. **The Pan-American Committee (PAC)** was organized in 1938 to help prepare the founding conference of the Fourth International, and was assigned the task of coordinating the International's work in the Western Hemisphere and the Far East after the conference. **The International Secretariat (IS)** was a subcommittee of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. **The National Committee** is the leading committee of the Socialist Workers Party, elected by its national convention.

36. **Comrade G.** was Albert Goldman, a leader of the SWP and Trotsky's lawyer in the United States, who replaced Cannon in Paris in the International's efforts to influence the French section. He was defense counsel as well as one of the eighteen defendants convicted in the 1941 Minneapolis Labor Trial, the first use of the Smith Act. He left the SWP in 1946.

37. **Charles Curtiss** (1908- ) , who used the pseudonym of C. Charles, was a member of the SWP National Committee and had worked closely with the Mexican Fourth Internationalists. He left the SWP in 1951 and joined the Socialist Party.

38. "Progressive Paralysis." **Fourth International**, May 1940. Trotsky is apparently reporting here on developments in the Second International as reflected in the meeting of its Executive Committee at Brussels on May 14-15, 1939.

39. **Feodor Dan** (1871-1949) was a founder of the Russian Social Democracy and a Menshevik leader of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917. He was a pacifist during World War I and an active opponent of the Bolshevik Revolution. He was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1922. The Mensheviks were a moderate socialist party claiming allegiance to Karl Marx but believing that the working class must combine with the liberal bourgeoisie to overthrow czarism and establish a democratic republic. They were formed after a split in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1903, and remained within the Second International, while the Bolsheviks later took the name Russian Communist Party.

40. The Versailles treaty was imposed by the victors in World War I. It was based on heavy reparations payments by the defeated countries to the victors.

41. **Otto Wels** (1873-1939) was a leader of the German Social Democracy. As military commander of Berlin, he crushed the Spartacist uprising of 1919; later he led the Social Democratic delegation in the Reichstag until Hitler took over total power in 1933. **Rudolph Hilferding** (1877-1941) was a leader of the German Social Democracy prior to World War I. A pacifist during the war, he became a leader of the Independent Social Democrats. Returning to the Social Democratic Party, he served as finance minister in bourgeois cabinets in 1923 and 1928. He died in a German prison camp during World War II. **Pietro Nenni** (1891- ) became the principal leader of the Italian Socialist Party after World War II and a close collaborator of the Communist Party until 1956; during this period he was awarded the Stalin peace prize. After Khrushchev's denunciation of the Stalin cult, Nenni broke his alliance with the CP and moved to the right, finally becoming deputy prime minister in coalition governments led by the Christian Democrats.

42. **Julius Martov** (1873-1923) was a founder of the Russian Social Democracy and a close associate of Lenin on the editorial board of Iskra until 1903, when he became a Menshevik leader.

43. The Two-and-a-Half International, or the International Association of Socialist Parties, was formed in February 1921 by centrist parties and groups that had left the Second International under pressure from the revolutionary masses. The Two-and-a-Half International reunited with the Second International in May 1923.

44. **Leon Blum** (1872-1950) was the head of the French Socialist Party in the thirties and premier of the first Popular Front govern-

ment in 1936. The Third French Republic was declared in September 1870 and lasted until December 1946.

45. Albert Oustric was a French banker whose speculations wiped out many banks and led to the downfall of the Tardieu cabinet in 1930.

46. The reference here is to Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, and to Italy's invasion of Albania in April.

47. Harry Pollitt (1890-1960) was a leader of the British Communist Party. Maurice Thorez (1900-1964) became a leader of the French CP in 1924. He had sympathized with the ideas of the Left Opposition, but he adhered to Stalinism in 1925. He became general secretary of the French party in 1930, and after World War II was a minister in de Gaulle's government.

48. "Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads." *Socialist Appeal*, September 15 and 18, 1939. *Socialist Appeal* was the weekly paper of the SWP, later renamed *The Militant*. Trotsky here is answering a criticism of an article he had written in April 1939, which is reprinted in *Writings 38-39* under the title "The Ukrainian Question."

49. The Marxist theory of permanent revolution elaborated by Trotsky states, among other things, that in order to accomplish and consolidate even bourgeois democratic tasks such as land reform in an underdeveloped country, the revolution must go beyond the limits of a democratic revolution into a socialist one, which sets up a workers' and peasants' government. Such a revolution will therefore not take place in "stages" (first a stage of capitalist development to be followed at some time in the future by a socialist revolution), but will be continuous or "permanent," passing immediately to a post-capitalist stage. For a full exposition of the theory, see *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects*, by Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder Press, 1972).

50. The Ukrainian Borotba (Struggle) Party was active during 1918 to 1920, when it merged with the Ukrainian Communist Party. In the mid-twenties former Borotbists won the leadership of the Ukrainian CP, and carried out Ukrainization policies until the late twenties, when the Stalinists turned against Ukrainization and drove the Borotbists out of the leadership. Most of the Borotbists were killed in the purges of the thirties.

51. Nikolai A. Skrypnik (1872-1933) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1897. After the October Revolution he was at various times commissar for internal affairs and commissar for education in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. An article on his suicide appears in *Writings 32-33*. Pavel P. Postyshev (1888-1940) was an Old Bolshevik who became a member of the Politburo in 1926 and the secretary of the Communist Party in the Ukraine. He was arrested in 1938 and was later executed, but was exonerated in the Khrushchev revelations.

52. Thermidor 1794 was the month in the new French calendar when the revolutionary Jacobins headed by Robespierre were overthrown by a reactionary wing in the revolution that did not go so far, however, as to restore the feudal regime. Trotsky used the term as a historical analogy to designate the seizure of power by the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy within the framework of nationalized property relations. Bonapartism is a Marxist term describing a dictatorship or regime with certain features of a dictatorship during a period when class rule is not secure; it is based on the military, police, and state bureaucracy, rather than on parliamentary parties or a mass movement (see Trotsky's essay "The Workers' State, Thermidor, and Bonapartism," in Writings 34-35).

53. Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) was one of the outstanding leaders in the history of the Marxist movement and a prominent opponent of revisionism and opportunism before World War I. She was an organizer of the Polish Social Democratic Party and was leader of the left wing of the German Social Democracy. Jailed in 1915, she helped to found the Spartacus League and the German Communist Party. She was assassinated by officers of the Social Democratic government during the January 1919 insurrection. Her main theoretical disagreement with the Bolsheviks was over the question of national self-determination. Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938) was an Old Bolshevik who allied with Stalin against the Left Opposition until 1928. He succeeded Zinoviev as president of the Comintern from 1926 until 1929. He was a leader of the Right Opposition in 1929, and was expelled and capitulated, but he was executed after the third Moscow trial in 1938. Georgi L. Pyatakov (1890-1937) joined the Bolshevik Party in 1910 and did party work in the Ukraine. During 1915-17 he opposed Lenin's position on the right of nations to self-determination. He was a member of the government of the Soviet Ukraine after the October Revolution. He was expelled from the CP in 1927 as a Left Oppositionist. He capitulated to Stalin and was given important industrial posts, but was a victim of the second Moscow trial.

54. This document, also known as the Transitional Program, was adopted by the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938. Its full text is in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, by Leon Trotsky (Pathfinder Press, 1973).

55. Trotsky called for a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy to restore Soviet democracy and a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy. By a political revolution, he meant one that would topple the Stalinist regime but preserve the nationalized property relations that had been made possible by the revolution of 1917.

56. Georges Vereecken was the representative of a sectarian tendency in the Belgian section of the Trotskyist movement. Henricus Sneevliet (1883-1942) was a founder of the Communist Party in Holland and in Indonesia. He left the CP in 1927, and in 1933 his group allied itself with the Fourth Internationalist movement; he was

a cosigner of the first public call for a new International ("The Declaration of Four," in *Writings 33-34*). However, he broke with the Fourth International in 1938 because of differences over trade union policy and the Spanish Civil War. **Hugo Oehler** led a sectarian faction in the Workers Party of the United States that opposed on principle the WPUS's entry into the Socialist Party as a way of reaching the growing left wing in that party. He and his group were expelled in 1935 for violating party discipline.

57. "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution." **Fourth International**, November 1942. In another translation, this appears as an appendix to Trotsky's biography of Stalin. Trotsky's original intention had been to include the material covered here as a chapter in his biography of Lenin, which he began while he was exiled in France, but which he never completed.

58. The revolution of 1905 in Russia grew out of discontent over the Russo-Japanese war. It culminated in the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies in October, and was crushed by the czar in December (see Trotsky's **1905** [Random House, 1972]).

59. The **Narodniks** (populists) were the organized movement of Russian intellectuals who conducted activities among the peasantry between 1876 and 1879, when they split into two parties: one was extremely anarchistic and was smashed after the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881; the other was led by **George Plekhanov** (1856-1918), and split again, the Plekhanov group becoming Marxist while the other wing evolved into the peasant-based Social Revolutionary Party. Plekhanov became a leader of the Menshevik faction in the Russian Social Democracy after 1903.

60. The February revolution in Russia in 1917 overthrew the czar and established the bourgeois Provisional Government, which held power until the October Revolution brought the soviets, led by the Bolsheviks, to power.

61. **Paul Axelrod** (1850-1925) was an early leader of the Russian Social Democracy and an editor of **Iskra**. He became a Menshevik in 1903.

62. The Russian Constitutional Democrats, called **Cadets**, were the liberal party favoring a constitutional monarchy in Russia or even ultimately a republic. It was a party of progressive landlords, middle bourgeoisie, and bourgeois intellectuals.

63. After the crushing of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies in December 1905, Petersburg and Moscow workers protested through strikes and barricade fighting, and revolts flared up in Siberia, the Baltic provinces, and the Caucasus. Simultaneously with crushing the uprisings, the government prepared for elections to the first Duma (parliament), which were held in March 1906.

64. **Pavel Miliukov** (1859-1943), a leader of the Cadets, was minister of foreign affairs in the Russian Provisional Government, March-May 1917, and an outstanding enemy of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Winter Palace was the winter residence of the czar. After the

February revolution it became the seat of the Provisional Government; today it is a museum.

65. **Noah N. Zhordanya** (1870-1953), a Menshevik leader, was the head of the independent Georgian Republic after October 1917. In 1921, after the sovietization of Georgia, he emigrated to Paris.

66. **Dictatorship of the proletariat** is the Marxist term for the form of rule by the working class that will follow rule by the capitalist class ("dictatorship of the bourgeoisie"). More modern substitutes for "dictatorship of the proletariat" are "workers' state" and (a term Trotsky disliked) "workers' democracy."

67. **Bloody Sunday** was January 9, 1905, when czarist troops fired on a peaceful march of Petersburg workers bearing a petition to the czar for democratic rights, and killed hundreds of them. The massive strikes that ensued throughout Russia marked the beginning of the 1905 revolution.

68. **A. L. Parvus** (1869-1924) was a prominent Marxist propagandist and theoretician in the period before World War I. Trotsky broke with him in 1914 when he became one of the leaders in the prowar wing of the German Social Democracy.

69. **Hohenzollern** was the name of the ruling family of Prussia and Germany until 1918.

70. **Friedrich Ebert** (1871-1925) was a leader of the right wing of the German Social Democracy. As chancellor, he presided with Scheidemann over the crushing of the November 1918 revolution, executing Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and other German revolutionists. He was president of the Weimar republic from 1919 to 1925.

71. "Democratic Feudalists and the Independence of the Ukraine." **Socialist Appeal**, October 31, 1939.

72. **Alexander F. Kerensky** (1882-1970) was the leader of one wing of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party. He became vice-chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, then bolted from its discipline to assume the ministry of justice in the Provisional Government in March 1917. In May he took the post of minister of war and navy, which he continued to hold when he became premier; later he appointed himself commander-in-chief as well. He fled Petrograd when the Bolsheviks seized power.

73. "Stalin—Hitler's Quartermaster." **Socialist Appeal**, September 11, 1939, where it appeared under the title "Trotsky Writes on War and the Nazi-Soviet Pact."

74. The Soviet Union and Germany concluded a "nonaggression" pact on August 22, 1939. On September 1, Germany invaded Poland.

75. **Joseph Goebbels** (1897-1945) was the Nazi minister for propaganda and national enlightenment (from 1933); he was a member of Hitler's cabinet council (from 1938), and committed suicide at Germany's defeat.

76. **Vyacheslav Molotov** (1890- ), an Old Bolshevik, was an

editor of *Pravda* prior to the October Revolution. Elected to the Russian party's Central Committee in 1920, he aligned himself with Stalin. He was president of the Council of People's Commissars from 1930 to 1941; in 1939 he became minister of foreign affairs. He was eliminated from the leadership in 1957 when he opposed the Khrushchev "de-Stalinization" program.

77. **Kliment Voroshilov** (1881-1969) was an early supporter of Stalin, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1926, president of the revolutionary military council, and people's commissar of defense, 1925-40. He was president of the USSR, 1953-60.

78. When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, the Soviet Union continued to sell the fascist government oil, which was indispensable to its war.

79. **Grigori V. Chicherin** (1872-1936), had been in the czarist diplomatic service until 1904, but resigned out of sympathy with revolutionary agitation. He became a Bolshevik in 1918, and succeeded Trotsky as people's commissar for foreign affairs, 1918-30.

80. **Joachim von Ribbentrop** (1893-1946) was minister of foreign affairs under the Nazi government (1938-45). In addition to negotiating the Stalin-Hitler pact, he also engineered the German-Italian-Japanese anti-Comintern agreement. He was hanged as a war criminal following the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

81. **Georgi Dimitrov** (1882-1949), a Bulgarian Communist who had moved to Germany, attracted world attention in 1933 when the Nazis imprisoned and tried him and others on charges of having set the Reichstag on fire. He defended himself courageously at the trial and was acquitted. He became a Soviet citizen and served as executive secretary of the Comintern from 1934 to 1943. He acted as the chief proponent of the Popular Front policy adopted at the Comintern's Seventh Congress in 1935.

82. "The German-Soviet Alliance." **Socialist Appeal**, September 9, 1939.

83. The Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials was called the **Dewey Commission** after its chairman, John Dewey (1859-1952), the noted American philosopher and educator. The Commission conducted hearings in Mexico, April 10-17, 1937. The summary of its findings was published in *Not Guilty* (Monad Press, 1972). The transcript of the proceedings was published in *The Case of Leon Trotsky* (Merit Publishers, 1968).

84. "Who Is Guilty of Starting the Second World War?" **Socialist Appeal**, September 11, 1939.

85. "The War and the Ukrainian Question." By permission of the Harvard College Library. Translated for this volume by George Saunders. This was written as a preface to a pamphlet collecting

Trotsky's recent articles on the Ukraine, suggested by Ukrainian friends in Canada. A copy of the proposed pamphlet could not be located for this edition.

86. "Moscow Is Mobilizing." **Socialist Appeal**, September 15, 1939.
87. "Closer Hitler-Stalin Ties Seen." **Socialist Appeal**, September 20, 1939.
88. "Stalin—Temporary Holder of the Ukraine." **Socialist Appeal**, October 24, 1939, where it was printed without several sentences. The first edition of **Writings 39-40** kept the original errors and supplied the wrong date (September 6, 1939); the article is reproduced here in its entirety for the first time in English.
89. **Edouard Daladier** (1884-1970), a Radical Socialist, was French premier in 1933 and 1934, when he was ousted during an attempted fascist coup d'etat. He was minister of war under Leon Blum. Later he became premier again, and signed the Munich Pact with Hitler. **Jozef Beck** (1894-1944) was Polish minister of foreign affairs (1932-39).
90. **Brest-Litovsk** was a town on the Russo-Polish border where a treaty ending hostilities between Russia and Germany was signed in March 1918. The terms were exceedingly unfavorable to the new Soviet government, and there were sharp differences among its leaders about whether to accept them before Lenin's proposal to accept was adopted. The November 1918 revolution in Germany and the German defeat in the war enabled the Soviet government to recover most of the territory lost through the treaty.
91. "The Anniversary of the Murder of Ignace Reiss." **Socialist Appeal**, October 27, 1939. **Ignace Reiss** was the pseudonym of Ignace Poretsky, a GPU agent who broke with Stalin in the summer of 1937 and joined the Fourth Internationalists. He was murdered by GPU agents near Lausanne, Switzerland, on September 4, 1937 (see **Writings 37-38**). The full text of his letter is contained in his widow's memoir (**Our Own People**, by Elisabeth K. Poretsky [University of Michigan Press, 1970]).
92. The GPU was one of the abbreviated names for the Soviet political police; other names were Cheka, NKVD, MVD, KGB, etc., but GPU is often used in their place.

93. "The U.S. Will Participate in the War." **New York Times**, October 4, 1939. Three paragraphs toward the end of the article, which were omitted in the translation used by the **Times**, have been inserted in this edition, by permission of the Harvard College Library. The first edition of **Writings 39-40** kept the original omissions, and also attributed a wrong date to the article (October 3, 1939). The article is reproduced here in its entirety for the first time in English. In the introduction to his Trotsky collection **Sur la deuxieme guerre mon-**

diale (Brussels, *La Taupe*, 1970), Daniel Guerin, the noted French writer, said that "Trotsky did not hesitate to proclaim that America must not remain neutral. He felt it was necessary to deal Hitler so decisive a blow that Stalin would finally lose his fear of him," and that Trotsky "even call[ed] for the entry of the United States into the war on the side of the Western allies" (pp. 17 and 20). When the French journal *Lutte ouvrière* protested that this was a serious misrepresentation of Trotsky's views, Guerin sought, in a letter to that journal printed in its April 29-May 5, 1970, issue, to defend his statements by citing two passages from this article of October 1, 1939. The article itself thoroughly refutes Guerin's interpretation because its comment on the effects of a decisive blow by Washington against Hitler represented, as *Lutte ouvrière* observes, "an analysis, a statement of fact, and not the expression of a desire as Guerin would have us believe." Guerin's introduction also suffers from a misunderstanding of the "proletarian military policy" advocated by Trotsky, and from confusion introduced by Guerin's unfortunate thesis that "there were two men in Trotsky"—one a revolutionary internationalist and spokesman for the Fourth International; the other a Soviet patriot "essentially preoccupied . . . by the necessity for unconditional defense of the USSR," who took positions that seemed to a certain extent to "contradict those of the first Trotsky, the internationalist."

94. The September agreement between Stalin and Hitler stipulated that Germany recognized Eastern Poland as Russian territory.

95. "Will Not Write for British Paper." *Socialist Appeal*, November 3, 1939. The *Daily Herald* was the official newspaper of the British Labour Party.

96. George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), the British playwright and critic, was also a founder of the school of Fabian socialism and an admirer of the Stalinized Soviet Union.

97. The interview Trotsky granted to Sybil Vincent, entitled "Only Revolution Can End War," is in *Writings 38-39*.

98. "On the Question of Workers' Self-Defense." By permission of the Harvard College Library. Signed "a non-pacifist." Translated for this volume by Marilyn Vogt. Throughout the 1930s Trotsky sought every possible opportunity to propagandize in favor of workers' self-defense, that is, the arming of the workers so that they could defend their organizations and their rights against fascist and other reactionary assaults. This theme will be found in his writings on Germany and Spain beginning in 1931, on France beginning in 1934, on the United States beginning in 1938, and in key documents such as "War and the Fourth International" (in *Writings 33-34*) and "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*). The present article takes up the problem a few weeks after the start of World War II and explains why the response to the idea of work-

ers' self-defense has declined in the new wartime conditions. Trotsky sees no reason to be discouraged, because fluctuations in response are inevitable anyhow; and he sees no reason to abandon efforts at promoting self-defense, which can be continued through a different tactical approach. In fact, he notes, the coming of the war opens up unprecedented possibilities for the training of the workers in the military arts. Then Trotsky proceeds to set forth the ideas that came to be known as the "proletarian military policy" when he presented them to the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party seven or eight months later. It is difficult to be certain why the article was not published in any form at the time it was written. Its signature ("a non-pacifist") may indicate that Trotsky thought of it as a discussion article, perhaps intended for an internal bulletin, and that he felt it might provoke more discussion among his comrades if it did not have the authority of his own name attached to it. It is also possible that he decided to postpone its publication because the Fourth International was then in the grip of a bitter factional struggle over other, more urgent, issues, and he did not want to do anything that might distract attention from the consideration and resolution of those other issues.

99. **The Black Hundreds** was the popular name for the Association of the Russian People and the Association to Combat Revolution. These were gangs of reactionaries and "patriotic" hoodlums that existed up through the Russian civil war. They were organized with the czarist government's clandestine backing, and specialized in carrying out anti-Semitic pogroms and terrorizing radicals.

100. **Frank P. Hague** (1876-1956) was the Democratic mayor of Jersey City, New Jersey, for thirty years, from 1917 to 1947. In the thirties his notoriously corrupt administration used governmental power and police violence, in cooperation with hired company thugs, to prevent CIO unions from organizing. Picketing was forbidden, and distributors of union leaflets were jailed or run out of town.

101. **Father Charles E. Coughlin**, a Catholic priest, began his career with a local radio program in Detroit in the twenties. During the depression he became a national spokesman for the incipient fascist movement in the U.S., the leader of his "National Union for Social Justice," and a vocal admirer of Nazi Germany. His anti-labor and anti-Semitic policies found backing among high capitalist and Catholic circles.

102. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was headed in 1939 by **Martin Dies** (1901-1972), a Texas Democrat. The committee was hated by radicals and liberals because it served as a forum to "expose" radical and liberal groups and demand that they be outlawed. After World War II, HUAC began to subpoena witnesses and violate their First and Fifth Amendment rights; in the thirties, however, it relied primarily on voluntary testimony. Its chief investigator, **J. B. Matthews**, had been a member of the Socialist Party in the early thirties, and had collaborated with the Sta-

linists in front organizations like the U.S. Congress Against War.

103. "Letter to the New York Times." *New York Times*, November 23, 1939, where it appeared under the title "Trotsky Writes of Russia."

104. "A Letter on India." *Internal Bulletin*, Socialist Workers Party, Vol. II, No. 5, December 1939. Selina M. Perera was the treasurer of the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samaja (Equality) Party (LSSP), which was founded in 1935 and later became a section of the Fourth International. In November 1939, on her way back to Ceylon from a visit to England, she made an attempt to visit Trotsky in Mexico, but was turned back at the Mexican-U.S. border because of restrictive immigration regulations regarding British subjects visiting Mexico. During the war the LSSP was outlawed and its newspaper suppressed, and Perera herself was imprisoned twice by the British colonial authorities in Ceylon. The American comrades referred to were members of the SWP minority headed by Shachtman, Burnham, and Abern, who held that the Soviet Union was following an imperialist policy and therefore argued that the Fourth International should revise its position of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

105. When the February revolution broke out Lenin was in Zurich. In order to get back to Russia, he had to travel through Germany, with which Russia was still at war. For this purpose he was given a train with a sealed car. The German government was represented in these negotiations by Erich F. Ludendorff (1865-1937), one of the top German generals in World War I. Ludendorff undoubtedly consented to convey Lenin back to Russia in the hope that he would add to the instability of Russia's military position, which was already disintegrating.

106. "An Invitation from the Dies Committee." From the minutes of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, December 5, 1939. Signed "Hansen." For security reasons, Trotsky used various pseudonyms in this letter; the names actually meant are in brackets. In October 1939 Trotsky was invited to testify before the Dies Committee and accepted. Later that month, a member of the Political Committee of the SWP, James Burnham, introduced a motion disapproving of Trotsky's acceptance, requesting him to reconsider and refuse to testify, and proposing that the SWP publicly dissociate itself from and criticize his action if he did not comply with the request. Another member of the Political Committee moved to approve Trotsky's action, on the ground that it was like Trotsky's writing for the bourgeois press, but wanted to prohibit any SWP members from testifying before HUAC voluntarily. Both these motions were defeated by the Political Committee, which approved the plan for Trotsky to testify because of the "propagandistic value of such testimony to our movement."

107. **James Burnham** (1905- ) was then a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He broke with the SWP in 1940, and later became a propagandist for McCarthyism and other ultraright movements, and an editor of the right-wing **National Review**. During the Cold War period, he was to testify voluntarily before the government witch-hunters in collaboration with their efforts to outlaw Marxist organizations in the United States.

108. The **War Referendum** was the Ludlow Amendment, a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would require a direct popular referendum by the people for a declaration of war. It took its name from Indiana Representative Louis Ludlow, who first introduced the resolution in Congress. He reintroduced it in the House in 1937, and Senator La Follette introduced a similar resolution in the Senate. On January 10, 1938, the House voted down the Ludlow resolution. Earlier that week, a Gallup public opinion poll had shown that 72 percent of the American people favored the bill. The Socialist Workers Party seized upon the Ludlow proposal as fitting in with its program of transitional demands and, utilizing the slogan "Let the people vote on war," carried on an agitational campaign in favor of such a popular referendum.

109. "The Twin-Stars: Hitler-Stalin." **Liberty** magazine, January 27, 1940, where it appeared under the title "Hitler and Stalin: How Long Will It Last?" When **Liberty** published the article, however, it omitted seven paragraphs from Trotsky's text, which were also omitted in the first edition of **Writings 39-40**. The full text has been restored here, by permission of the Harvard College Library.

110. **Ernst Thaelmann** (1886-1944) was the leader of the German Communist Party, its presidential candidate, and a supporter of the Kremlin policies that led to Hitler's victory. Arrested by the Nazis in 1933, he was executed at Buchenwald in 1944.

111. Trotsky's article "Before a New World War," written August 9, 1937, was printed in part in **Liberty** magazine, November 13, 1937. It is reproduced in full in **Writings 36-37**.

112. **Baron Konstantin von Neurath** (1873-1956) was German minister of foreign affairs (1932-38) and "protector" for Bohemia and Moravia (1939-41). He was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

113. "Letter to the **New York Times**." The **Times** did not see fit to print this letter, which was printed in the **Socialist Appeal**, December 23, 1939, where it appeared under the title "Trotsky on Lenin's Program."

114. **Andrei Vyshinsky** (1883-1954) joined the Social Democracy in 1902 but remained a Menshevik until 1920. He received international notoriety as a prosecuting attorney in the Moscow trials.

115. **Henry Yagoda** was the head of the Soviet secret police. In 1938, Yagoda, who had supervised the organization of the 1936 Moscow trial, was himself made a defendant and executed.

116. "The Dies Committee." **Socialist Appeal**, December 16, 1939, where it appeared under the title "Trotsky Raps Lies on Dies Query."

117. In 1938, the Mexican government expropriated British and American petroleum holdings (see Trotsky's articles on this subject in *Writings 37-38* [2nd ed.]).

118. **William Z. Foster** (1881-1961) was a member of the American Socialist Party, a union organizer, and a leader of the American Communist Party. He was the party's candidate for president in 1924, 1928, and 1932, and its chairman after World War II.

119. "Why I Consented to Appear Before the Dies Committee." **Socialist Appeal**, December 30, 1939. Trotsky prepared this statement as a press release to be issued upon his arrival in the United States. However, shortly before he was due to make the trip, the Dies Committee cancelled the invitation.

120. **Harold Ickes** (1874-1952) was U.S. secretary of the interior from 1933 to 1946 in the Roosevelt administration. **Homer Cummings** (1870-1956) was U.S. attorney general from 1933 to 1939. **Lewis Douglas** (1894- ) had been director of the budget under Roosevelt in 1933, but resigned in protest against the New Deal policies. He was deputy lend-lease expeditor in London (1941-44), and ambassador to Great Britain (1947-50).

121. The **American Youth Congress** was a Popular Front organization that came under Stalinist control.

122. "On Dies Backing Down." **Socialist Appeal**, December 23, 1939.

123. "Not Behind Closed Doors." **Socialist Appeal**, December 30, 1939.

124. "More Slander Around the Dies Committee." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin** (Mexico, 1940). Translated from the Spanish for this volume by Will Reissner.

125. **James W. Ford** was the American CP's vice-presidential candidate in 1932, 1936, and 1940.

126. **General Lazaro Cardenas** (1895-1970) was president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940. His administration was marked by plans for the redistribution of the land, industrial and transportation development, renewal of struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, and expropriations (1938) of foreign-owned oil properties. His was the only government in the world that granted Trotsky asylum in the last years of his life. **General Cedillo** was an army officer who led an uprising against the Cardenas government and died in the process. **Dr. Atl** was a contemporary painter and poet.

127. "The World Situation and Perspectives." **St. Louis Post-Dispatch**, March 10 and 17, 1940. The interviewer was Julius Klyman, staff correspondent of the **Post-Dispatch**. Another interview by Kly-

man, made January 16, 1937, is reprinted in **Writings 36-37**.

128. **Hermann Rauschning** (1887- ) was an anti-Nazi politician and president of the Danzig Landbund (1932), and of its senate and foreign and personnel departments (1933-34). In 1940 he fled to England and in 1948 became a naturalized American citizen.

129. **Stanley Baldwin** (1867-1947) was Conservative prime minister of Great Britain (1923-24, 1924-29, 1935-37).

130. **Count Galeazzo Ciano di Cortellazzo** (1903-1944), son-in-law of Benito Mussolini, was the Italian minister of foreign affairs (1936-43).

131. In October 1918 revolution broke out in Budapest, and Count Karolyi, a democrat, became premier, forming a coalition government. In November he proclaimed Hungary a republic, and instituted several democratic reforms. In March, a Soviet republic was proclaimed under Bela Kun. Czechoslovakia and Romania invaded Hungary immediately, crushing the Kun regime by November and establishing an extreme right-wing government under Admiral Horthy.

132. **Biulleten Oppozitsii** (Bulletin of the Opposition) was the Russian-language organ of the Left Opposition, which was then being published in New York, and was edited by Trotsky from the beginning of his last exile until his death. The article he refers to was printed in **Liberty**, November 26, 1938, under the title "Why Russia Is Powerless" and was reprinted in that form in the first edition of **Writings 38-39**. **Biulleten Oppozitsii** was reprinted in four volumes by Monad Press (1973).

133. The New Economic Policy (**NEP**) was initiated in 1921 to replace the policy of "Military Communism," which prevailed during the civil war and led to drastic declines in agricultural and industrial production. To revive the economy after the civil war, NEP was adopted as a temporary measure allowing a limited revival of free trade inside the Soviet Union and foreign concessions alongside the nationalized and state-controlled sections of the economy. The NEP was succeeded in 1928 by forced collectivization of the land and the first five-year plan.

134. **Semyon M. Budenny** (1883- ) joined the Russian Communist Party in 1919. He won fame in the civil war as a cavalry commander, and was one of the few leading military figures to escape execution or imprisonment in the Stalinist purges.

135. Both references to 1928 are errors in the original Russian. The defeat of the Chinese revolution and the expulsion of the Trotskyist Opposition took place in 1927. On June 30, 1934, Hitler launched the "blood purge" that wiped out potential oppositional elements among the Nazis and other bourgeois groups in Germany.

136. **Sumner Welles** (1892-1961) was U. S. undersecretary of state from 1933 to 1943. His 1940 mission to Europe was designed to discuss political and economic problems with European politicians

during the "lull" in the war that preceded the German breakthrough in the spring.

137. **Romanov** was the name of the imperial family of Russia that was ousted by the 1917 revolution. **Hapsburg** was the name of the royal family of Austrian rulers, which also supplied Holy Roman Emperors and sovereigns for Hungary and Bohemia until the end of World War I. **Georges Clemenceau** (1841-1929) was premier of France (1906-09, 1917-20). He headed the French delegation to the Versailles conference in 1919. **David Lloyd George** (1863-1945) was Liberal prime minister of England from 1916 to 1922. After World War I, he coauthored the Versailles Treaty with Clemenceau.

138. **Herbert Hoover** (1874-1964) was Republican president of the U.S. from 1929 to 1933. After World War I, he was the head of the American Relief Association, which provided medicine and supplies to the famine- and disease-ridden areas of Europe. It particularly served the counterrevolutionary forces in the Russian civil war.

139. "Testament." Reprinted by permission of the publishers from **Trotsky's Diary in Exile, 1935** (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press). Copyright 1958, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

140. "Stalin After the Finnish Experience." **Sunday Express** (Scotland), March 17, 1940, where it appeared with a garbled opening and without several sentences from different parts of the article. The first edition of **Writings 39-40** retained the errors and omissions. For this edition, the original opening paragraph has been restored and the full text is presented in English for the first time, by permission of the Harvard College Library. A later and longer balance sheet of the Finnish events is presented in the collection **In Defense of Marxism** ("Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events," April 25, 1940).

141. **Leon Kamenev** (1883-1936) and **Gregory Zinoviev** (1883-1936) were Old Bolsheviks. In 1923 they helped Stalin initiate the crusade against Trotskyism, but in 1926 they blocked with the Left Opposition until being expelled from the party in 1927. They capitulated but were expelled again in 1932. They repented again, but were victims of the first big Moscow show trial and were executed. Zinoviev was the first president of the Comintern (1919-26).

142. **Ottomar W. Kuusinen** (1881-1946) was a Finnish Social Democrat who fled to Moscow after the collapse of the Finnish revolution in April 1918. He became a Stalinist functionary in the Comintern.

143. "Letter to the Workers of the USSR." **Socialist Appeal**, May 11, 1940.

144. "On Japan's Plans for Expansion." **Fourth International**, October 1940. This letter was addressed to Chris Andrews, a former

guard, who left the SWP after World War II.

145. **The Tanaka Memorial** was a document submitted to the Japanese emperor in 1927 by Baron Gi-ichi Tanaka (1863-1929), prime minister of Japan from 1927 to 1929. The document outlined the detailed steps of a program of Japanese imperialist expansion, beginning with the establishment of Japanese control in Manchuria and leading eventually to domination of all China, Indonesia, the South Sea Islands, the Maritime Provinces of the USSR, and eventually India and the whole Pacific basin, as well as ultimate Japanese control of Europe.

146. "The Tanaka Memorial." **Fourth International**, June 1941.

147. **The Sisson documents on the Soviet Republic** were obtained by Edgar Sisson, an American journalist, who had been sent to the Soviet Union in 1918 by President Wilson. The documents, which were forgeries, were alleged to "prove" that the Bolsheviks had received money from the German government in return for agreeing to sue Germany for a separate peace. Opponents of the Bolsheviks tried to use the Sisson documents to compromise the Bolsheviks and to cast them in the role of German agents. However, the documents were quickly discredited by numerous experts.

148. **The Chinese Eastern Railroad** was the portion of the original route of the Trans-Siberian Railroad that went through Manchuria to Vladivostok. In 1935, Stalin sold it to the Japanese puppet government of Manchukuo in an effort to ward off a Japanese attack on the Soviet Union. The railroad came under Soviet control again during World War II. The forces headed by Mao Tse-tung took over the Chinese mainland in 1949, but Stalin did not cede the route to the new Chinese government until 1952.

149. **David A. Trilisser** (1884-1934) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1902. He occupied leading positions in the Petrograd and Volodarsky Soviets. **Reingold I. Berzin** (1888-1939) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1905. From 1919 to 1920 he was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western, Southern, and Southwestern fronts. In later years he held military and business posts. **Efraim M. Sklyansky** (1892-1925) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1913. From 1918 to 1924 he was deputy people's commissar for military affairs and deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. **Iosif S. Unschlicht** (1879-1938) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1900. During the October Revolution he was a member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. From 1930 to 1935 he held posts in the Supreme Economic Council and the State Planning Commission of the USSR. **Arkady P. Rosengoltz** (1889-1938) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1905. He was a member of the Left Opposition for a short time, but capitulated to Stalin by 1927. In 1928 he became people's commissar of state control, and in 1937 he was head of the Administration of State Reserves, but in 1938 he was a

defendant in the third Moscow trial and was shot.

150. **Felix E. Dzerzhinsky** (1877-1926) was a founder of the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. In 1906 he was elected to the Central Committee of the Russian party. After the revolution he became the chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage (Cheka). He was also commissar for internal affairs.

151. **Boris V. Savinkov** (1879-1925) had been a Social Revolutionary during the 1905 revolution, but joined the bourgeois Provisional Government in 1917 and after the October Revolution joined the counterrevolutionary military forces. When he was captured by the Bolsheviks he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and committed suicide.

152. **Piotr N. Wrangel** (1878-1928) was a commander of the White Guard counterrevolutionary armies that sought to overthrow the new Soviet state with the help of the British, French, American, Japanese, and other imperialists.

153. **Leonid Krassin** (1870-1926) was an Old Bolshevik who joined the Russian Social Democracy in the 1890s, and was several times on the Central Committee. He became one of the most effective diplomatic representatives of the Soviet government. **Jan E. Rudzutak** (1887-1938) joined the Russian Social Democracy in 1905 and was elected to the Central Committee in 1920. He was active in the trade union movement after the October Revolution. From 1921 to 1924 he was chairman of the Central Asia Bureau of the Russian Communist Party.

154. **Adolf A. Joffe** (1883-1927) joined the Russian Social Democracy in the 1890s. After the October Revolution he became one of the ablest Soviet diplomats. A Left Oppositionist, Joffe was prevented by the bureaucracy from receiving adequate medical treatment, and committed suicide. At his bedside, he left a famous letter to Trotsky, partly reprinted in **Leon Trotsky, the Man and His Work** (Merit Publishers, 1969).

155. **Calvin Coolidge** (1872-1933), a Republican, succeeded to the presidency of the United States on Harding's death (1923) and served an additional term (until 1929). **Charles Evans Hughes** (1862-1948) was U. S. secretary of state from 1921 to 1925 and chief justice of the Supreme Court (1930-41).

156. **The Amtorg Trading Corporation** was founded in New York with headquarters in Moscow in 1924 to conduct trade between the U. S. and the Soviet Union during the years when the U. S. refused to recognize the USSR. It performed the same functions as a trade delegation in other countries, but it did not enjoy official or diplomatic status.

157. "On a 'Socialist' Ally of Chamberlain." **Fourth International**, October 1940. This letter was in reply to a request from Suzanne La Follette for an article to be entitled "The Coming Peace." La Follette was the secretary of the Dewey Commission (see note 83).

158. **Henry Noel Brailsford** (1873-1958), a pacifist during World War I, was the editor of the Independent Labour Party newspaper, **The New Leader**, from 1922 to 1926. He was the author of the introduction to the British edition of Trotsky's book **Where Is Britain Going?** The article that Trotsky refers to here was entitled "Can Europe Federate?" and advocated something similar to the League of Nations but with "real power." Trotsky's earlier appraisal of Brailsford will be found in **Leon Trotsky on Britain** (Monad Press, 1973).

159. "A Proposal to Professional Slanderers." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Will Reissner.

160. "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution." **Socialist Appeal**, June 29, 1940. The manifesto was adopted by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, held May 19-26, 1940, in New York.

161. **Abyssinia** (Ethiopia) and **Albania** had been occupied by Italy in 1935 and 1939, respectively, and **China** had been invaded by Japan, first in 1931 and again in 1937.

162. **The Good Neighbor Policy**, proclaimed by U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, stated that the U.S. would no longer resort to armed interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean, but would rather function as a "good neighbor."

163. **Vendee** is a province in southwestern France which was a stronghold of counterrevolutionary sentiment during the French revolution.

164. In January 1918 the Finnish Soviets, under the leadership of the Communists, attempted to seize power, but the Finnish government called in German troops to defeat them. The Soviet government was not strong enough to provide more than a token amount of aid at that time.

165. **Semyon K. Timoshenko** (1895- ), a friend of Stalin since 1910, directed the occupation of Eastern Poland in 1939 and part of the operations against Finland (1939-40). He was made a marshal in 1940 and replaced Voroshilov as people's commissar for defense in the same year.

166. **The Moslem League** and the **National Congress** were the main bourgeois organizations opposing British rule in India. The National Congress became the leading party in India after independence, while the Moslem League became the main force in Pakistan after its separation from India.

167. During June 1936 a massive strike wave broke out in France, with as many as seven million workers on strike at one time, many on sit-down strikes. Another upsurge of strike activity took place in July 1936.

168. The theory of "social fascism," a brainchild of Stalin, held that Social Democracy and fascism were not opposites but twins. Since the Social Democrats were only a variety of fascists, and since just about everyone but the Stalinists was some kind of fascist, then

it was impermissible for the Stalinists to engage in united fronts with any other tendency against the ordinary fascists. No theory was or could have been more helpful to Hitler in the years leading up to his winning power in Germany. The Stalinists finally dropped the theory in 1934, and were soon wooing not only the Social Democrats but also capitalist politicians like Roosevelt and Daladier. In this allusion, Trotsky is stressing the irony in the fact that the Stalinists, whose sectarian refusal to work with other workers' organizations from 1928 to 1934 was based on their insistence that all non-Stalinist organizations were "social fascist," actually became uncritical defenders of Nazi Germany during the Stalin-Hitler pact.

169. The Kremlin's policy toward Hitler underwent a decisive—and abrupt—change in June 1941, when the armies of the Third Reich invaded the Soviet Union.

170. **Sidney Webb** (1859-1947) was one of the founders of the Fabian Society of utopian socialists, and helped begin the **New Statesman**. He was secretary for the colonies (1929-31) and dominions (1929-30). **Marius Moutet** was the socialist minister of colonies in the French Popular Front government in 1938, who was responsible for jailing Ta Thu Thau, the leader of the Indochinese Trotskyists.

171. **Vicente Lombardo Toledano** (1893-1968), a Stalinist, was also head of the CTM (Mexican Confederation of Workers, the major trade union in Mexico). He was an active participant in the slander campaign carried out by the Mexican Stalinists against Trotsky, which Trotsky was convinced was designed to prepare public opinion for his assassination.

172. The **POUM** (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) was founded in Spain in 1935, when the Spanish Oppositionists broke with Trotsky and merged with the centrist Workers and Peasants Bloc. Trotsky severed all relations with them when they joined the Spanish Popular Front government.

173. **Edouard Benes** (1884-1948) became president of Czechoslovakia in 1935 and resigned in October 1938 when the Germans occupied the Sudetenland. He was re-elected president in 1946 and was killed or committed suicide when the Communist Party took over Czechoslovakia in 1948.

174. "Letter to the Mexican Attorney General." **Socialist Appeal**, June 15, 1940, where it was entitled "Trotsky Letter Exposes Stalin Role in Recent Assassination Attempt." In that form, it was missing several paragraphs, which have been translated for this edition by Will Reissner from **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. After the Moscow trials, it was clear that Stalin would go to any lengths to have Trotsky killed. The Trotsky house in Coyoacan was guarded, but it was not impregnable. At 4 a.m. on the morning of May 24, 1940, a large band of men led by a well-known Mexican Stalinist, David Alfaro Siqueiros, broke into the house and sprayed the bedrooms with machine-gun fire. Trotsky and his family escaped death by sheer luck; one of the guards, Robert Sheldon Harte of New York,

was kidnaped and murdered. The attack led to a police investigation that took much of Trotsky's time and energy during the final three months of his life.

175. **Erwin Wolf**, a Czech, served as Trotsky's secretary in Norway. He was kidnaped and killed by the GPU in Spain in 1937.

176. "On the Manifesto of the Fourth International." **Fourth International**, October 1940. Signed "W. R." This letter to leaders of the Fourth International was written a day or two after they had adjourned the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International. **Comrade Hank** was Henry Schultz of Minneapolis, who went to Mexico to help strengthen the physical reinforcement of the Trotsky home. **Burnham** (see note 107) had resigned from the new Shachtmanite Workers Party on May 24.

177. "Accusers or Accused?" From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Will Reissner.

178. "Representative Toledano Hurls a New Slander." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Will Reissner.

179. Two of Trotsky's guards and secretaries, Otto Schuessler (also known as Oscar Fischer) and Charles Cornell, were arrested by the police and held overnight for questioning. **General Sanchez Salazar** was the police officer in charge of the investigation. He later wrote his account of the assassination attempt—and the final successful attempt three months later—in a book entitled **Murder in Mexico** (London: Secker & Warburg, 1950).

180. "Stalin Seeks My Death." **Fourth International**, August 1941. Several paragraphs of this article, which was not printed until after Trotsky's death, were repeated verbatim in a subsequent article, "The Comintern and the GPU," which he completed three days before the successful assassination.

181. **General Juan Andreu Almazon** was the right-wing candidate in the Mexican presidential campaign in 1940.

182. **Leon Sedov** (1906-1938), Trotsky's elder son, joined the Left Opposition and accompanied his parents in their last exile as Trotsky's closest collaborator in the struggle and as co-editor of the **Biulleten Oppozitsii**. He lived in Germany from 1931 to 1933, and then in Paris, where he lived until his death at the hands of the GPU. **Writings 37-38** (2nd ed.) includes an evaluation of his life and death.

183. **Hernan Laborde** was the chief leader of the Mexican Communist Party until early 1940, when he was purged in a reorganization of the party that was related to preparations for the Trotsky assassination.

184. "Discussions with Trotsky," **National Committee Bulletin**, Socialist Workers Party, June 1940, where it bore the title "Discus-

sions with Lund" (a Trotsky pseudonym). About half of this document was printed in England in 1965 under the title "Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA." This is a rough stenographic draft, not corrected by the participants, of discussions held during four days in Mexico by Trotsky and a delegation from the Socialist Workers Party. For security reasons pseudonyms were used in the stenographic draft, but are replaced in the present text. The SWP members who participated were James P. Cannon, Charles Cornell, Farrell Dobbs, Sam Gordon, Joseph Hansen, Antoinette Konikow, and Harold Robins.

185. **Winston Churchill** (1874-1965) began his political career as a Tory, switched to the Liberals in 1906, and then back to the Tories in 1924. He was a leading advocate of intervention against Soviet Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. He was prime minister from 1940 to 1945, and from 1951 to 1955.

186. **Eugene V. Debs** (1855-1926) was a railroad worker, a militant union leader, and founder of the American Railway Union, who was jailed for his leadership of the 1894 Pullman strike. He became a socialist in prison, and was a founder of the Socialist Party. The most popular socialist leader in U. S. history, he polled nearly a million votes when he campaigned for president in 1912. He was jailed under the Espionage Act during World War I for his anti-war speeches. When the war was over, a growing sentiment demanded amnesty for him and other political prisoners. Debs ran for president in 1920 from his cell in the federal prison in Atlanta. He was amnestied in 1921. Many of his most important speeches are collected in **Eugene V. Debs Speaks** (Pathfinder Press, 1970).

187. This is a reference to the minority that left the SWP with Burnham and Shachtman.

188. **Max Shachtman** (1903-1972) and **Martin Abern** (1898-1949) were leaders in the American CP and cofounders and leaders of the Communist League of America and the Socialist Workers Party. In 1940 they split from the SWP because of differences over the defense of the Soviet Union, and formed the Workers Party. In 1958 Shachtman joined the Socialist Party.

189. Trotsky is referring to the sudden antiwar stance adopted by the Stalinists in the United States when the Stalin-Hitler pact was concluded. Prior to the Kremlin's pact with Germany, the American Stalinists had been among the most vocal supporters of the government's foreign policy.

190. **John L. Lewis** (1880-1969) was president of the United Mine Workers from 1920 until his death. He headed the minority in the AFL executive council in the early thirties which favored industrial unionism, and he was the principal founder and leader of the CIO from its beginning in 1935 until 1940, when he resigned.

191. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (**CIO**) was originally a committee within the American Federation of Labor, a conservative craft union federation. The AFL leaders refused to respond to the demand for powerful new organizations to represent radical-

izing workers on an industry-wide basis; they expelled the CIO unions in 1938, forcing them to establish their own national organization. The AFL and CIO merged in 1955. Daniel Tobin (1875-1955) was president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters before World War II. He tried to break the strikes of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 574 in 1934 because they were led by Trotskyists and because they violated craft principles by attempting to organize the entire industry.

192. Sidney Hillman (1887-1946) was president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the second most important figure inside the CIO. Hillman became Roosevelt's chief wartime labor lieutenant. David Dubinsky (1892- ), formerly a socialist, was president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union from 1932 and also a leader of the CIO before he led the ILGWU back into the AFL.

193. Beginning in 1933, the threat of fascism spurred the development of significant left wings in the old Social Democratic parties. Trotsky proposed the temporary entry of the Fourth Internationalists into the Socialist parties to link up with the new youthful revolutionaries. This was known as the French turn because it was first applied in France in 1934.

194. The "third period," according to the schema proclaimed by the Stalinists in 1928, was the final period of capitalism, the period of its immediately impending demise and replacement by soviets. Following from this, the Comintern's tactics during the next six years were marked by ultraleftism and sectarianism, including the refusal to join the mass labor unions in the capitalist countries, and the building of smaller "red" unions, as well as the refusal to build united fronts with other working class organizations. They abandoned this policy in 1934-35, dissolved the red unions, and returned to the mainstream of the organized labor movement.

195. William Green (1873-1952) was the conservative president of the conservative American Federation of Labor.

196. Jay Lovestone had been a leader of the American Communist Party in the twenties, but he was expelled in 1929 shortly after the downfall of his international ally, Bukharin. The Lovestoneites maintained an organization until the beginning of World War II, when they dissolved. Lovestone later became cold-war adviser on foreign affairs for AFL-CIO president George Meany.

197. Homer Martin, a former preacher, was appointed vice-president of the United Auto Workers in 1935, and became president in 1936. He tried to lead the UAW back into the AFL, and when he was prevented from doing so by the union membership, he led a small split-off in 1939, which eventually degenerated into a racket run by outright gangsters.

198. The *Northwest Organizer* was the newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 574. Trotsky discusses the paper more favorably in his letter of August 20, 1940.

199. O'Shea was Carlos Hudson, an editor of the *Northwest Organizer* and one of the eighteen defendants in the Minneapolis Labor

Trial in 1941. He left the SWP in 1946. **Vincent Raymond Dunne** (1890-1970) was one of the eighteen prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor case. A founding member of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., Dunne was a leader in the Minneapolis truck drivers' strikes. He remained active in the SWP leadership until his death.

200. **Walter Held** (d. 1941) was a German Trotskyist who fled to Norway after Hitler came to power in Germany. When Trotsky was granted asylum in Norway, Held was one of his secretaries. He was the International Communist League delegate to the Stockholm Youth Bureau. While he was traveling legally through the USSR, he was taken off the train by the Soviet secret police and executed.

201. **YPSL** was the Young People's Socialist League, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party from 1937 until 1940, when most of its members joined the Shachtmanites in their split.

202. **Nathan Gould** was the national secretary of the YPSL, a youth leader of the Socialist Workers Party, and a delegate to the founding conference of the Fourth International. He left the SWP with the Shachtmanites in 1940 and dropped out of politics soon after.

203. **Murry Weiss** was a prominent SWP leader until the 1960s, when he withdrew from activity in the Socialist Workers Party.

204. The discussions with Trotsky on the transitional program are reprinted in **The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution** (Pathfinder Press, 1973).

205. **Mikhail Tomsky** (1886-1936), an Old Bolshevik, was always in the right wing of the party and opposed the Bolshevik insurrection. He was head of the Soviet trade unions and a member of the Politburo until he joined the right-wing fight against Stalin led by Bukharin. He committed suicide during the first Moscow trial in 1936.

206. **Labor Action** was the newspaper of the Shachtmanite Workers Party from 1940 to 1958. It should not be confused with the paper of the same name edited by James P. Cannon in California between 1936 and 1937, which was a paper of the left wing in the Socialist Party.

207. **The American Labor Party** was formed in New York State in July 1936 in preparation for the fall presidential elections. Its policy was to nominate on its ticket the principal candidates of the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic Party and the local Republican-Fusion coalition headed by New York City Mayor La Guardia. It was created, mainly by the leaders of the garment workers union, as a device for channeling to Roosevelt and La Guardia the votes of the socialist-minded garment workers who traditionally refused to vote for a capitalist party.

208. **Sidney Hook** (1902- ) was an ex-radical who became one of the most vocal supporters of the cold war and witch-hunt.

209. **James Oneal**, author of **The Workers in American History**, was an editor and leader of the pro-Roosevelt right wing in the So-

cialist Party, which split in 1936 to form the Social Democratic Federation.

210. Robert L. Birchman was at that time in charge of the **Socialist Appeal** column "The Negro Question." He became prominent in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People after he left the SWP.

211. Cannon's polemics against Burnham and Shachtman can be found in his book *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (Pathfinder Press, 1972).

212. During the Russian civil war, the town of Tsaritsyn, which had a strong tradition of partisan guerrilla warfare, was the headquarters of the Russian Tenth Army, under Voroshilov. Under Stalin's influence, it became the seat of the "military opposition," which opposed the use of military specialists from the old czarist army and resisted the centralization of the Red Army under a unified command. Stalin used the group of commanders there as a basis for his personal intrigues and maneuvers, capitalizing on their grudges against the center of command to accumulate personal loyalties to himself. The eighth congress of the Russian party in March 1919 rebuffed the Tsaritsyn group and reaffirmed the military policy that Trotsky, as head of the Red Army, had been implementing. In 1919, when the group began disobeying direct orders and endangering the course of the civil war, Lenin and Trotsky finally had Voroshilov transferred to the Ukraine, where, again with Stalin behind him, he created a similar opposition group. After Lenin died, Stalin renamed Tsaritsyn "Stalingrad."

213. Farrell Dobbs's account of the 1934 Minneapolis teamsters' strikes is in his book *Teamster Rebellion* (Monad Press, 1972).

214. "The Kremlin's Role in the European Catastrophe." **Socialist Appeal**, June 22, 1940.

215. "The Reptile Breed of the Nation." **Socialist Appeal**, July 6, 1940. In its June 8, 1940 issue, the **Nation** published an article by Harry Block, its regular Mexican correspondent, which supported the self-assault theory. The **Nation** refused to publish a letter from Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, answering Block.

216. Trotsky's article on the reaction of the **Nation** and the **New Republic** to the Moscow trials, "The Priests of Half-Truth," is in *Writings 37-38*.

217. "GPU Tried to Cover Murder with Slander." **Socialist Appeal**, July 6, 1940. On June 25, the body of Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's guard, who had been kidnaped and murdered during the Stalinist attempted assassination of May 24, was found in the garden of a house the assailants had rented for the occasion.

218. **Mikhailo Glazman** was the head of Trotsky's secretariat in Russia during the civil war. Hounded by the Stalinists because of his adherence to the Left Opposition, he committed suicide in 1924.

**Georgi V. Butov** was Trotsky's co-worker in charge of the Revolutionary Military Council's secretariat during the civil war. He was arrested for refusing to sign false charges against Trotsky, went on a hunger strike, and died in prison in 1928. **Jakob Blumkin** (1899-1929) had been a Left Social Revolutionary who became a Communist and a GPU official. He edited part of Trotsky's book **How the Revolution Armed Itself**. He was the first Russian supporter of the Left Opposition to visit Trotsky in exile in Turkey. Bringing back a letter from Trotsky to the Opposition, he was betrayed to the GPU and shot. **N. Sermuks** was the chief of the military train that was Trotsky's mobile headquarters during the civil war, and a member for several years of Trotsky's secretarial staff. He was expelled with Trotsky from the Communist Party and followed him into exile, but was arrested and deported. **L. Poznansky**, another of Trotsky's secretaries, had been in charge of the Red Cavalry during the civil war. He too was arrested and deported when he followed Trotsky into exile.

219. "Telegram to Mr. Harte." **Socialist Appeal**, June 29, 1940, where it appeared under the title "Body of Sheldon Harte, Trotsky Secretary, Is Found, Spiking Stalinist Attempt to Implicate Him As Accomplice."

220. "We Do Not Change Our Course." **Socialist Appeal**, July 6, 1940, where it was entitled "After Hitler's Conquest of France—What Next?" and signed "L. Lund."

221. "Avuncular Advice." From the personal archives of Pierre Frank. This letter was written in English. The "nephews" were Raymond Molinier and Pierre Frank, co-founders and leaders of the French section of the Left Opposition with whom Trotsky collaborated closely until 1935, when their group was expelled for violating discipline. A reunification the following year was soon followed by another split. Negotiations for a new unification continued for several years. With the coming of World War II, the French government sentenced both Molinier and Frank to heavy prison sentences for antiwar propaganda. They escaped to England and were there when they learned of the May 24, 1940, assassination attempt and wrote Trotsky expressing their solidarity and their desire to heal the split in France. The formulations in Trotsky's reply were intended to pass war censorship; "your father," "the whole family," etc., referred to the Fourth International. Molinier and Frank responded to this letter on August 5 by writing Trotsky that "we accept the rights and duties as defined in your letter of July 1, without any reservations and without equivocation," and approving the manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International. This letter arrived in Mexico after the assassination of Trotsky. The International Secretariat decided to postpone reintegrating the French group for one year. Molinier made his way to Latin America, and

Frank was interned by the British government. The French reunification did take place in France during the war, and Frank served as a delegate of the French section to the first postwar conference of the Fourth International, where he was elected to the International Secretariat.

222. "Pavon Flores, the GPU's Attorney." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Will Reissner.

223. **David Serrano Andonegui** was a Stalinist who had been a major in the Spanish Civil War, and a member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party. **Mateo Martinez** was the Stalinist who organized the procuring of police uniforms for the assault.

224. "Supplementary Deposition on the July 2 Hearing." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Will Reissner.

225. "Supplementary and Indispensable Explanations of My July 2 Statements." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Judy White.

226. **Baron Carl von Mannerheim** (1867-1951) was responsible for the suppression of the Finnish Workers' Republic in 1918. He planned and supervised construction of the "Mannerheim line," a line of defense against Russia. In 1939 he commanded the Finnish army against Russia, and again in 1941. He was president of Finland (1944-46).

227. **Diego Rivera** (1886-1957) was a noted Mexican painter whose murals were removed from Rockefeller Center in New York because of their communist politics. He was Trotsky's host in Mexico at first, but Trotsky was forced to break from him publicly in 1939 over the presidential campaign of 1940, in which Rivera supported the candidacy of a right-wing general, Juan Andreu Almazan.

228. "Questions About Mrs. Carmen Palma's Statement." By permission of the Harvard College Library. Translated for this volume from the Spanish by Naomi Allen. **Carmen Palma** was the cook in the Trotsky household.

229. **Belem Estrada** was the housekeeper in the Trotsky household.

230. The French couple were Albert and Marguerite Thevenet Rosmer, friends of the Trotskys since World War I, who had brought Trotsky's grandson to Mexico and were house guests at the time of the assassination attempt.

231. "On Conscription." **Fourth International**, October 1940. This was a letter to Albert Goldman, who was writing articles about conscription in the **Socialist Appeal**.

232. "Appeal to the Press." From **Los Gangsters de Stalin**. Translated for this volume by Will Reissner.

233. "Letter to the New York **Herald Tribune**." **Socialist Appeal**, August 10, 1940, where it had the title "Trotsky Nails Talk of Almazan Plot."

234. "Misfortune of an Intellectual." **Fourth International**, October 1940. This was another letter to Albert Goldman.

235. "Stalin Still Hitler's Satellite." **Socialist Appeal**, August 10, 1940. This was a statement to United Press.

236. "Nipping a New GPU Lie." **Fourth International**, October 1940. A letter to Charles Curtiss.

237. "To Generous Friends." **Fourth International**, October 1940.

238. "Assassins May Use Trotskyist Label." **Socialist Appeal**, August 31, 1940. This was a statement to the Mexican press.

239. "American Problems." **Discussion Bulletin**, Socialist Workers Party, Vol. III, No. 2, September 1940, under the title "Discussion with Lund."

240. **Wendell Willkie** (1892-1944) was the Republican candidate for president of the United States in 1940.

241. **Henri Philippe Petain** (1856-1951), a military leader in World War I, had recently become the premier of the Vichy government in France (1940-44). His government collaborated with Nazi Germany. In 1945 he was convicted of treason and his death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by General de Gaulle.

242. **The Pan-American Conference** was held in Havana, Cuba, July-August 1940. It resulted in an agreement to cease exports to the Axis countries, and provided that the United States would take over British and French investments in the event that those countries were defeated in the war, as repayment for defaulted war debts to the United States.

243. **Dwight Macdonald** (1906- ), an editor of **Partisan Review** at the time, was briefly a member of the SWP in 1939-40, but split from it under the leadership of Shachtman and Burnham. He soon left the Shachtmanite Workers Party, became pro-anarchist, and then a left-liberal.

244. "How to Defend Ourselves." **Fourth International**, October 1940. In a Dies Committee raid on some students' rooms in Austin, Texas, large quantities of Socialist Workers Party literature were seized. There were headlines in the Texas press about it, and the sensational stories attempted to link Trotsky to the case. This letter suggests the course to be taken by the defense.

245. "How to Really Defend Democracy." **Fourth International**, October 1940.

246. "A Letter to C. Charles." **Fourth International**, October 1940. C. Charles was Charles Curtiss.

247. **Benjamin Gitlow** (1891-1965) was one of the founders of the American Communist Party, sentenced to prison in a "criminal anarchy" trial in New York. He was the CP's vice-presidential candidate in the 1924 and 1928 elections. He was expelled as a Lovestoneite in 1929. **Joseph Zack** was a CP leader specializing in trade union activity. He left the CP in the middle thirties and for a short period was a member of the Workers Party.

248. "On Dewey's Philosophy." **Fourth International**, October 1940. Gerland was Jean van Heijenoort, who had served as one of Trotsky's secretaries in each of the four countries of his last exile. He broke with Marxism after the war and became a professor of philosophy. John Dewey's critique of Trotsky's politics and philosophical method is reprinted in **Their Morals and Ours** (Pathfinder Press, 1973).

249. "The Comintern and the GPU." **Fourth International**, November 1940.

250. **The Jacobins** were the most radical political faction in the French Revolution. They dominated French politics from the overthrow of the Gironde in 1791 until Thermidor in 1794. **William Pitt** (1759-1806) was British prime minister from 1783 until 1801 and from 1803 until his death.

251. **Carlos Contreras** was the pseudonym of Vittorio Vidali, an Italian Stalinist who had been a Comintern agent in Spain and had participated in the extermination of the Republican left.

252. **Albert A. Purcell** (1872-1935), a left Labourite, was a union leader and a member of the British Parliament. In 1924 he was chairman of an official Trades Union Congress delegation to the Soviet Union, which helped pave the way for the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee.

253. **Fred Beal** was a Communist union organizer in the Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike of 1929. Framed and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, he jumped bail and fled to the Soviet Union. He became disillusioned there with Stalinism and returned secretly to the U.S. in the mid-thirties. He lived in hiding while he wrote **Proletarian Journey**, an autobiography. He was rearrested and returned to jail, and later renounced Marxism.

254. **Lavrenty P. Beria** (1899-1953) became chief of the GPU in 1938 when Yezhov was ousted, and became a member of the Politburo in 1946. After Stalin's death, he was accused of being a British agent since 1919, and was executed.

255. "Another Thought on Conscription." **Fourth International**, October 1940. This was a letter to Chris Andrews. Trotsky was often referred to as the Old Man.

256. "Welcome to Our Small Garrison." **Fourth International**,

October 1940. "R" was Ray Rainbolt, one of the leaders of the Minneapolis truck drivers.

257. "A Letter to Henry Schultz." **Fourth International**, October 1940.

258. "Letters to Class War Prisoners." **Fourth International**, October 1940. These two letters were to Max Geldman and Ed Palmquist, who were soon to be released, after serving prison terms for their activity in a Minneapolis strike.

259. "Dialectics and the Immutability of the Syllogism." From the personal archives of George Novack. Translated in the 1940s by John G. Wright, and revised for this volume by George Saunders. This fragment was probably originally a part of "A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party," dated December 15, 1939, in the collection **In Defense of Marxism**, in which Trotsky at one point wrote: "Last year I was visited by a young British professor of political economy, a sympathizer of the Fourth International. During our conversation on the ways and means of realizing socialism, he suddenly expressed the tendencies of British utilitarianism in the spirit of Keynes and others: 'It is necessary to determine a clear economic end, to choose the most reasonable means for its realization,' etc. I remarked: 'I see that you are an adversary of dialectics.' He replied, somewhat astonished: 'Yes, I don't see any use in it.' 'However,' I replied to him, 'the dialectic enabled me on the basis of a few of your observations upon economic problems to determine what category of philosophical thought you belong to—this alone shows that there is an appreciable value in the dialectic'" (p. 48).

260. "On Utilitarianism." **Fourth International**, January 1942. This fragment, incomplete at the time of Trotsky's death, is also probably from late 1939 or early 1940.

261. **Jeremy Bentham** (1748-1832) was the foremost exponent of utilitarianism, the doctrine that the morality of actions is determined by their utility, their capacity for producing pleasure or preventing pain. He was also a social reformer and a follower of Adam Smith.

262. "On the Future of Hitler's Armies." **Fourth International**, October 1940. This was probably from an early draft of the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," written in May 1940.

263. "China and the Russian Revolution." **Fourth International**, March 1941. This article was intended to be the introduction to a Chinese edition of **The History of the Russian Revolution**; it was begun in July 1940, but was unfinished at the time of Trotsky's death.

264. "Bonapartism, Fascism, and War." **Fourth International**, October 1940. Trotsky dictated this article shortly before his death, but did not live to complete and edit it. Despite its unfinished character, it does not at all correspond to Isaac Deutscher's description of it (*The Prophet Outcast*, p. 502) as "inchoate" or as a "trace of his last inconclusive groping in a new direction." For this volume, the text has been edited slightly; another arrangement, with editorial interpolations, is in **The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany**.

265. **Heinrich Brüning** (1885-1970) was chancellor of Germany from 1930 to 1932. He lacked a majority in the Reichstag and ruled by executive decree. **Kurt von Schleicher** (1882-1934) was a German military bureaucrat who served as chancellor from December 1932 until January 1933, when he was replaced by Hitler. He was a victim of the Nazi blood purge of June 1934. **Paul von Hindenburg** (1847-1934) was president of Germany from 1925 until 1934. Although he ran as an opponent of the Nazis when he defeated Hitler at the polls in 1932, he appointed Hitler chancellor in 1933.

266. **Zimmerwald**, Switzerland, was the site in September 1915 of a conference to reassemble the antiwar and internationalist currents that had survived the debacle of the Second International. Although most of the participants were centrists, it proved to be a step in the direction of a new International. The Zimmerwald manifesto against the war, written by Trotsky, appears in **Leon Trotsky Speaks** (Pathfinder Press, 1972).

267. The English translator here added the following note: "Several citations from Lenin during that period fit Trotsky's description. We quote two: 'It is possible, however, that five, ten, and even more years will pass before the beginning of the socialist revolution' (from a March 1916 article, *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 45, Third Russian Edition). 'We, the older men, will perhaps not live long enough to see the decisive battles of the impending revolution' (report on the 1905 revolution delivered to Swiss students, January 1917, *ibid.*, p. 357)."

268. **The Social Revolutionary Party** was founded in Russia in 1900, emerging in 1901-02 as the political expression of all the earlier populist currents; it had the largest share of influence among the peasantry prior to the revolution of 1917. Its right wing was led by Kerensky after the February 1917 revolution.

269. **Max Eastman** (1883-1969) was an early sympathizer of the Left Opposition and a translator of several of Trotsky's books. His rejection of dialectical materialism in the 1920s was followed by his rejection of socialism in the late 1930s. He became an anticomunist and an editor of **Reader's Digest**.

270. As the German defeat in World War I became clear, a German naval mutiny turned into a revolutionary movement. On November 8, 1918, the Bavarian Socialist Republic was proclaimed in Munich. In Berlin, workers and soldiers organized soviets and

a delegation of Social Democrats demanded that the chancellor surrender the government to the workers. The German empire fell the next day. Hindenburg and Kaiser Wilhelm II fled to Holland, and Ebert became head of a provisional government in Berlin, consisting of three Social Democrats and three members of the Independent Social Democratic Party. A revolutionary situation again developed in Germany in 1923, due to a severe economic crisis and the French invasion of the Ruhr. A majority of the German working class turned toward support of the Communist Party. But the CP leadership vacillated, missed an exceptionally favorable opportunity to conduct a struggle for power, and permitted the German capitalists to recover their balance before the year was ended. The Kremlin's responsibility for this wasted opportunity was one of the factors that led to the formation of the Russian Left Opposition at the end of 1923.

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## OTHER WRITINGS OF 1939-40

In addition to the material in the present volume, the following writings of Trotsky during the period covered here have been published:

**Stalin. An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence.** 1941. Unfinished when Trotsky died, this book was printed and sent to reviewers by Harper & Brothers in 1941, but was then withdrawn by the publisher as a friendly gesture to Washington's new ally in Moscow. It was finally released to the public in 1946, despite protests by Natalia Sedova against editorial "interpolations" of an anti-Bolshevik character. It was republished in 1967 by Stein & Day, despite protests by Trotsky's grandson against the inclusion of an introduction by one of Trotsky's political enemies, Bertram Wolfe.

**In Defense of Marxism (Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition).** 1942. This book is a collection of Trotsky's articles and letters on the war, Stalinism, dialectical materialism, Marxist organizational principles, and other issues disputed in the factional struggle inside the Socialist Workers Party after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Appendixes include James Burnham's article, "Science and Style," and his letter of resignation from the Workers Party.

**The Spanish Revolution (1931-39).** 1973. Includes the unfinished essay, "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership. Why Was the Spanish Proletariat Defeated? Questions of Marxist Theory."

**Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions.** 1969. Includes the unfinished essay, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay."

**Their Morals and Ours.** 1969 edition. Includes the statement, "Another Refutation by Victor Serge," dated September 7, 1939.

**Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question.** 1970. Includes a fragment, "On the Jewish Question."

"Did Stalin Poison Lenin?" An article (date unknown) in **Liberty**, August 10, 1940, which is a slightly revised version of passages in the Stalin biography.

**Political Portraits**, a book now in preparation by Pathfinder Press will include an essay, "Joseph Stalin," dated September 22, 1939, reprinted from **Life**, October 2, 1939.